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EXCHANGE
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ENGLAND AND THE ENGLISHMAN
IN GERMAN LITERATURE OF THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

BY

JOHN ALEXANDER KELLY

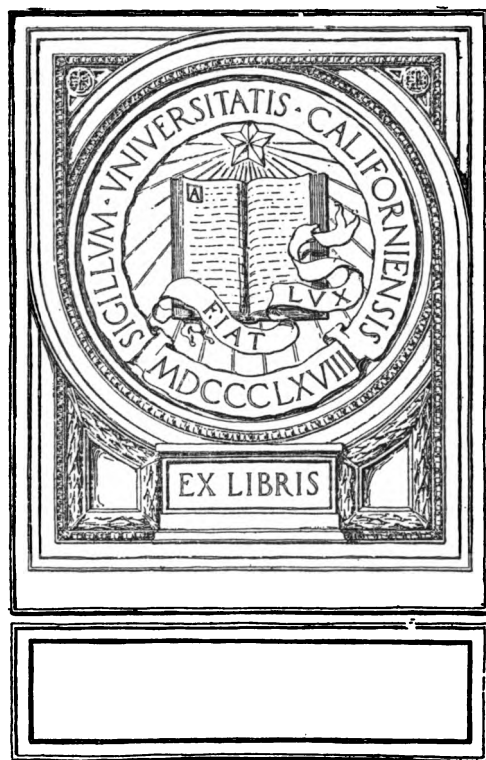


SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY, IN THE
FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



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NO. 1000
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TO
THE MEMORY
OF
CALVIN THOMAS

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PREFACE

The investigation of which the most significant results are presented in this monograph was suggested to me in 1917 by the late Professor Calvin Thomas, of Columbia University. Under his able and stimulating guidance I started to work in January 1919, but at the time of his sudden death in November of that year my task was still far from completion. To Professor Arthur F. J. Remy I am indebted for many hours which he gave to a helpful, constructive criticism of the manuscript in its *brouillon* stages, but it is perhaps to Professor Robert Herndon Fife that I am most indebted, especially since the beginning of his interest and participation in my work antedated by several months his official connection with Columbia University. It is a pleasure to record here, furthermore, my gratitude to Professor Frederick W. J. Heuser, who gave me many valuable suggestions, and to Professor Arthur George Williams, of William and Mary College, and Professor William Harrison Faulkner, of the University of Virginia, both of whom have given me much help and encouragement throughout a number of years of Germanic study.

Of the librarians who did much to aid me, I am under especial obligations to Mr. Frederick W. Erb, of the Columbia University Library, Mr. Frederick W. Ashley, of the Library of Congress, and Mr. William Warner Bishop, librarian of the University of Michigan. My thanks are due also to Professor Fife and my colleague, Mr. James McFadden Carpenter, Jr., of Haverford College, for assistance in reading the proof.

JOHN ALEXANDER KELLY

HAVERFORD, PENNSYLVANIA
January, 1921

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INTRODUCTION

There is no scarcity of information as to what Germans and Englishmen think of each other in modern times, and it may be reasonably expected that a great deal more literature on that subject will be forthcoming. On this very account especial interest centers around the attitude of the two countries toward each other at the time when an intimate—though somewhat one-sided—acquaintance was first established; that is, in the eighteenth century, especially in the last third of it. Particular value attaches to the impressions which one of the nations received of the other at that time, since these impressions were almost totally unaffected by anything like a political bias.

The object of the present investigation is to learn what the eighteenth-century German thought of the Britisher. Incidentally, some light will be thrown on English opinion of Germany and the Germans, in so far as it is obtainable from the German sources consulted.

The points of contact between Germany and England were numerous. Beginning with the year 1714, the two countries were brought into political affiliation through the house of Hanover. Northern Germany was bound to England by strong economic ties, and Hamburg in particular became the gateway of English *Kultur* into Germany. Naturally enough this interest in things English found abundant and far-reaching expression in the German literature of the period; almost any German writer of the century is, in fact, a possible source of information as to German opinion on England. Since it would be impossible to make a thorough investigation of all these sources, the first problem that arises is one of boundaries for the field of research. It is obvious that those Germans who visited England were best qualified to discuss English life and culture, and their writings were undoubtedly of the greatest importance in moulding German opinion. Accord-

ingly, the term *literature* is taken in its broadest sense, and books of travel, though ordinarily of very slight literary merit, prove for our purposes to be of the greatest value. Of these the most important were obtainable either in the original or in English translations; for those that were not obtainable, the exhaustive book reviews, notably those in the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, proved a fairly adequate substitute. Next in importance are essays and letters written, in most cases, by Germans who were, or had been at some time, in England. Material of this sort appears in abundance in the periodicals, of which Wieland's *Merkur* has most to offer. Such sources as the above mentioned have been exhausted in so far as they were accessible; but the same cannot be said of the imaginative literature, or *belles-lettres*. Here no effort is made to cover the entire ground; attention is restricted to the most important authors and to a few others—such, for instance, as Christian Felix Weisse—whose interest in Britain was especially marked.

The number of Germans who found their way to England in the eighteenth century is little short of astonishing. In fact, travel had already become very general. One important body of tourists were young noblemen, whose education was considered 'incomplete without an acquaintance with foreign lands. These young men visited as a matter of course the leading European countries, usually conducted by a tutor. Under this system of education many scions of noble German families visited England in the eighteenth century, as they had, to some extent, in earlier times. In Wieland's *Merkur* for October, 1784, we read of the mania for traveling¹: "In no age of the world was travel so common as in ours, when it has become a sort of epidemic. Kings and princes leave their thrones in order, as private citizens, to become acquainted with foreign lands. . . . Hence it is no wonder—in our age of much travel and many books—that so many descriptions of travel are written." "Descriptions of travel," writes Johann Reinhold Forster in 1790,² "have become during

¹ "Ueber das Reisen," *Der Teutsche Merkur*. hrag. von C. M. Wieland. 115 Vols. in 70. Weimar, 1773-1806. Oct. 1784, p. 151.

² *Magazin von merkwürdigen neuen Reisebeschreibungen, aus fremden Sprachen übersetzt*. 33 Vols. Berlin, 1790. Vorrede, Vol. I, p. I.

the last few years a *Modelektüre*, and in this the public has undoubtedly made a good choice." According to Sir Thomas Nugent, it was the Germans who set the pace for globe-trotters in those times:¹ "There is no nation fonder of traveling than the Germans; one meets with them in all parts of Europe, and should we admit that their natural parts are not equal to those of their neighbors—the experience they gain abroad makes an ample amends for what they are supposed to want naturally."

As to the goal of many of these tourists we learn something from Karl Heinrich Schaible:² "Incomparably more than any other European country England always had a peculiar power of attraction for Germans. Nowhere [else] did they feel at home so soon, nowhere [else] did they develop such a warm attachment to the land of their adoption. When I undertook an investigation of the presence of Germans in England in past centuries, their number astonished me; I was overawed by the immensity of the task I had undertaken." In fact, so numerous were the Germans in London that those who wished to learn the English language were seriously handicapped, as was the case with Johann Jacob Volkmann:³ "The many fellow-countrymen whom a German will find it difficult to avoid, speak either their mother-tongue or very imperfect English." It has been estimated that there were between four and five thousand Germans in London at the middle of the eighteenth century and that the number had increased by the end of the century to six thousand.⁴

It is apparent, then, that eighteenth century Germans had every opportunity to become acquainted with the British, and that they made good use of their opportunities will be clearly established, it is believed, by the following pages.

Of the many Germans who resided in England Johann

¹ *The Grand Tour*. 3d ed. 4 Vols. London, 1778. Vol. II, p. 47.

² *Geschichte der Deutschen in England von den ersten germanischen Ansiedlungen in Britannien bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Strassburg, 1885. p. 450.

³ *Neueste Reisen durch England vorzüglich in Absicht auf die Kunstsammlungen, Naturgeschichte, Oekonomie, Manufacturen und Landsitze der Grossen*. 4 Vols. Leipzig, 1781. Vol. I, p. 136.

⁴ Schaible: op. cit., p. 368.

Wilhelm von Archenholz, best known as the author of a history of the Seven Years' War, was at the same time the most prolific writer on English life and one of the most ardent admirers of the English. His first work was a book in two volumes, *England und Italien* (1785), which met with such success as to justify, at least in its author's mind, a continuation in twenty volumes, to which he gave the title, *Annalen der brittischen Geschichte des Jahres* (sic!) 1788–1796. Furthermore, England has an important place in the periodical *Minerva, ein Journal historischen und politischen Inhalts*, of which Archenholz was editor from 1792 to 1812. There is no doubt that he is too much inclined to see only the good qualities of the British; this fact is recognized, for instance, by Wieland.¹ It is true that England does not always appear to such advantage in the later volumes of the *Annalen* and in the *Minerva* as in the earlier writings, but this is due perhaps to criticisms from such reviewers as Wieland rather than to Archenholz' anglomania having given place, after the French Revolution, to gallomania,—as Robert Elsasser holds.² After Archenholz in voluminousness but before him in time comes Wendeborn as a writer on Great Britain. Gebhard Friedrich August Wendeborn, a Lutheran clergyman, went to England in 1767 and in 1770 took charge of a church in London, where he resided until 1793. His first work, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis Grossbritanniens*, appeared in 1780 and was later expanded into four volumes as *Zustand des Staats, der Religion, der Gelehrsamkeit und der Kunst in Grossbritannien gegen Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (1784–1788). This is by far the most valuable work by a German author on Great Britain up to that time. Unlike Archenholz, Wendeborn is quite ready to recognize the faults of the British and is at times too severe in his strictures. A later writer on England who is otherwise almost entirely unknown is C. A. G. Goede. Of him it is interesting to note that, though he wrote at the beginning of the nineteenth century, he is scarcely less enthusiastic in his

¹ See *Annalen der brittischen Geschichte des Jahres 1788–1796*. 20 Vols. Vol. I (Braunschweig, no date), p. 341.

² *Ueber die politischen Bildungsreisen der Deutschen nach England vom achtzehnten Jahrhundert bis 1815*. Heidelberg, 1917, pp. 70–72.

praise of the English than Archenholz. Since these three men, Archenholz, Wendeborn and Goede wrote intelligently on all aspects of British life, they are the authors most frequently cited.

Of less importance than the foregoing is Karl Ludwig, Freiherr von Pöllnitz, who in 1710, at the age of eighteen, started on his extensive travels over Europe, which continued for many years. In 1735 he became attached to the court of Frederick William I of Prussia as chamberlain. His *Memoirs* cover the years 1729-1733 and, so far as they have to do with Great Britain, are one continuous eulogy. A saner point of view is reached by Johann Jacob Volkmann, who visited England in 1761. His chief interest was in the fine arts, and his attention was attracted above all else to the valuable collections to be found in England. His *Neueste Reisen durch England* appeared twenty years after this tour, and for it he drew freely from previous writers, but he is not without independence of thought.¹ Better known than any of the foregoing is Karl Philipp Moritz, *Stürmer und Dränger* and, like Wendeborn, a Protestant clergyman. His *Reisen eines Deutschen in England im Jahre 1782* is one of the few descriptions of travel from the period that are still readable. Moritz formed his own opinions, and they are by no means always favorable to the English. Even more obscure than Goede is J. G. B. Büschel, whose *Neue Reisen eines Deutschen nach und in England im Jahre 1783* was written as a pendant to Moritz' popular work. Büschel has no particular merit, but his book is of some interest as representing the extreme in indiscriminating admiration of the British. Enthusiastic as he is, however, he scarcely outdoes Karl Gottlieb Küttner, who traveled many years in England, Ireland, France, Italy, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Sweden and Norway, and who does not tire of pointing out England's superiority over other countries in general and in particular over France. By far the most interesting of the books of travel consulted is Johann Georg Forster's *Ansichten vom Niederrhein, von Brabant,*

¹ To the contrary, Elsasser (op. cit., p. 31), according to whom Volkmann simply re-echoes the opinions of Wendeborn.

Flandern, Holland, England und Frankreich (1791). The author was a son of Johann Reinhold Forster, the famous natural scientist, and both father and son were companions of Cook on his epoch-making tour around the world (1772-1775). Georg Forster is to be relied upon for a discriminating, impartial attitude toward the British. The only one entitled to be mentioned in the class with Forster is the well-known scientist and satirist, Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, who offers no comprehensive work on the British, but who has much of interest and importance to say of them here and there in his writings. In Andreas Riem—available for this study only in the book reviews—we encounter the only consistently anti-British writer of the entire period. On account of its hostile attitude, his *Reise durch England* (1798-1799) occupies a unique position among the works considered.

A word is in order as to the treatment of the two phases of English culture that most interested the Germans; namely, *literature* and *politics*. An adequate discussion of these subjects, particularly of the former, is far beyond the scope of this monograph. Nothing more is attempted than to show in a general way how the German reacted toward English letters and English political life.¹

¹ The student of English literary influence on Germany will find invaluable the bibliography compiled by Lawrence Marsden Price: "English-German Literary Influences." *University of California Publications in Modern Philology*. Vol. 9, No. 1 (1919), pp. 1-111. Pages 19-50 are devoted to the eighteenth century.

As for the German attitude toward English politics see Robert Elsasser, *Ueber die politischen Bildungsreisen der Deutschen nach England vom achtzehnten Jahrhundert bis 1815* (Heidelberg, 1917. Completed July 1914, having been expanded from a doctoral dissertation); and Frieda Braune, *Edmund Burke in Deutschland*. (Heidelberg, 1917.) Both of these works were obtained after the completion of the present study, in connection with which Elsasser's book is of especial interest. He takes as his point of departure an article—not available to the present writer—by R. Philippthal: *Deutsche Reisende des 18. Jahrhunderts in England: in der Festschrift zum 13. Neuphilologentag in Hannover 1908* (Hanover, 1908), of which the purpose is simply to "incite further investigation." Elsasser gives a full account of the travels of Germans to England between 1750 and 1815, always with special reference to their political impressions. Comparatively few of the tourists, however, offer discriminating comments on politics; it is often possible to present their ideas on this subject

Finally, it may be well to say something regarding the quotations that are so freely used. In the first place, only the occasional verses that are quoted appear in the German original. Many of the other passages were obtainable only in the very imperfect eighteenth century translations. Sources that were found in the original German editions—and such sources furnish by far the greater part of the quotations—were translated into English by the writer. In a few instances translations were quoted, even when the original was obtainable; this was the rule, in fact, for passages from modern works of which satisfactory translations were to be had. An examination of the foot-notes and of the bibliography will invariably establish the identity of the translator, except in the case of a few anonymous translations from the eighteenth century; and these versions are on the whole so poor that it is easy enough to understand why no one would care to affix his name to them. In short, unless otherwise indicated, the writer is to be held responsible for all translations.

in a few sentences. On the other hand, the author does not hesitate to record the tourists' impressions of other important phases of English life, and in so doing he not infrequently enters the general field of the present investigation, in so far as the latter has to do with the opinions of Germans who visited England after the middle of the century.

Another monograph of similar interest, though dealing with a later period, is the doctoral dissertation of John Whyte: *Young Germany in its relation to Great Britain*. Menasha, Wisconsin, 1917.

Germany and the French Revolution, by G. P. Gooch (London, 1920), an admirable book with which the present writer became acquainted only after his own monograph had gone to press, presents a number of interesting comments on German opinion of the English state and government.

CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ENGLAND

The first impressions of the German visitor to England in the eighteenth century were almost invariably favorable. After the disagreeable, sometimes perilous, passage of the English Channel, it would have been a temporary relief to land on a barren island; the inconvenience experienced in reaching the country doubtless enhanced its attractions for the newcomer. Even today, in well appointed vessels that make the run in less than an hour, the voyage is not always a pleasure, but in the small, dirty ships of a century or two ago the passenger was exposed to serious annoyances and found himself at the mercy of wind and wave. The tourists who recorded their experiences seldom failed to refer to these discomforts. Among these is Uffenbach, who visited England about the middle of the century and who says:¹ "It went surprisingly well the first two hours (so long as we were still in sight of land on one side). But when we reached the high sea, where the water is swollen and deep and the waves are greater, the ship and our hearts commenced to dance at the same moment, and our heads to go around. We proceeded at a remarkable speed, and the sails were drawn with such force that the ship became, on one side, even with the water, while the other side was tossed so high that we could not even remain seated, much less stand, without taking a firm hold." This writer continues with a painfully realistic, though illuminating account of the sad effects of the rough sea on his fellow-passengers, maintaining, of course, that he himself came off somewhat better than the others.

The marked variance to be found in the statements regarding treatment received at the hands of customs-house officials is due in part, perhaps, to the varying states of mind in which

¹ *Merkwürdige Reisen durch Niedersachsen, Holland und Engelland.* 3 Vols. Ulm, 1753. Vol. II, p. 428.

the travelers arrived, dependent, in turn, upon the fury of the waves and the time required for the passage,—this latter being a very indefinite factor. On the whole, the baggage inspectors seem not to have molested their victims very seriously. Büschel, whose visit dates from 1783 and who, by the way, spent thirty-two hours on board the *Prince of Orange* in crossing the Channel,¹ had been prepared by one of his fellow tourists for serious interference from the officials, but he found the inspection to be largely a matter of form.² Lichtenberg, who made the first of his two trips to England in 1770, did not come off so easily with his baggage inspection:³ "The customs officials boarded our ship [at Harwich] and searched our pockets and clothing in the roughest manner." He adds that a landing was effected only at the peril of the passengers' lives, as they were compelled to go ashore in a little boat which was an easy prey to the rain and wind and high waves. Albrecht von Haller, who visited England forty years earlier, found the inspection of baggage less annoying than in France. He says in this connection:⁴ "One is not very exacting except in suspicious cases. If smuggled goods are found, only those are seized of which the importation is prohibited, without further punishment; while in France the seizure is attended with a heavy penalty, often corporal punishment." It is hardly necessary to add that the strictness of the customs officials varied from time to time with changing political and economic conditions; but in general the foreigner met with little difficulty in gaining admission into England for himself and for such personal belongings as his needs required.

The first town visited was usually Harwich, which, as such,

¹ The German tourist made the voyage to England ordinarily on the packet-boat from Helvoetsluis to Harwich. If he chose to go by way of France, there were two routes open to him; from Calais to Dover or from Dieppe to Brightelmstone (Brighton), the latter being the more popular. Cf. Albert Leitzmann: *Zeitschrift zur deutschen Philologie*. Vol. XXXVI (1904), p. 424.

² Büschel, J. G. B., *Neue Reisen eines Deutschen nach und in England im Jahre 1783*. Berlin, 1784. p. 24.

³ *Bruchstücke aus dem Tagebuch von der Reise nach England*. Vermischte Schriften, 8 Vols. Göttingen, 1844. Vol. III, p. 273.

⁴ *Tagebücher seiner Reisen nach Deutschland, Holland und England 1723-27*, hrsg. von L. Hirzel. Leipzig, 1883. p. 119.

received more attention than its importance justified. However, the tourist had scant praise for this village and was usually glad enough to make his sojourn there as brief as possible. Uffenbach, cited above, complains of being held up six days in Harwich on his homeward trip. "This is all the more annoying," he finds,¹ "because one can see and do nothing in this poor spot, is badly treated and must pay out an enormous sum of money. . . . The captain could have sailed earlier, but they have an understanding with the landlords and defer their departure as long as possible."

As the tourist continued his way to London, he soon forgot the hardships of his passage, the annoyance of the inspection by customs officers and the brief, uninteresting stay in Harwich. The natural beauties of the country and the busy life of its inhabitants absorbed his attention and fully compensated him for all the hardships he had undergone. German writers usually agree in testifying to the mildness and healthfulness of the climate in England, though they do not all indorse the opinion of an early geographer² of the century, who tells us that "the climate of England is so temperate that one has no need of heated rooms there as a protection from the cold of winter; nor of grottos or caves to temper the heat of summer." The prevalence in Germany of an impression that the climate of England was not altogether healthful is indicated by the following refutation of such a belief, from Archenholz' *England und Italien*.³ "The low mortality in the provinces, the large number of aged people living in England, as well as the beautiful complexion of the English woman, which is acknowledged to surpass that of all other European women, prove that the unhealthfulness of the climate and the fatality of the coal smoke are chimeras of the imagination." Coal smoke and the open fire were considered very pernicious by Germans who did not stay long enough in England to become accustomed to new conditions. To the former was attributed

¹ *Merkwürdige Reisen*, etc. Vol. III, p. 254.

² Berckenmeyer, P. L.: *Neuermehrter Curieuser Antiquarius*, 6th ed. Hamburg, 1731. p. 205.

³ *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*. 118 Vols. Berlin und Stettin, 1765-92; Kiel, 1792-96. Vol. LXXI (1787), pt. 1, p. 8.

much disease and to the latter, the poor eye-sight of the inhabitants of the country, as indicated by the large proportion of them who had to wear glasses, even at a very early age. Küttner, on the other hand, believed the smoke from coal to be healthful, acting as the best corrective of the dampness in such regions as Lancashire.¹

On no other score are eighteenth century German writers more consistent in their praise of England than in what they have to say of the physical appearance of the country. Not only do they find Nature there at her best, but the hand of man has been active to beautify his abode in every possible way. The fine roads, beautiful parks and handsome country residences arouse the lasting admiration of all visitors. Küttner, whose love of England was increased, after an extended residence there, by a visit to France [in 1787], records his first impressions of the land of his adoption:² "When I traveled from Dover to London five years ago, everything was striking, everything new to me, everything admirable. It was my first visit to this island. Never had I seen such fine roads, such clean inns, such excellent horses and carriages and such handsome equipage, never so many neat, attractive homes of peasants." The anglomania of this writer prompts him frequently to compare France with England to the almost invariable disadvantage of the former. On the road from Calais to Paris he deplores, above all, the total lack of those numerous country estates which add so much to the natural beauty of the landscape, making of England one enormous park.³ He testifies, furthermore, to the charm and attractiveness of English villages, giving them, in this regard, first place, but not failing to record that those of Holland surpass them in neatness and cleanliness, while German and Swiss towns do not suffer in comparison with the others.⁴

Among the German writers who have enthusiastic praise

¹ *ibid.*, Vol. CX (1792), part I, p. 216.

² *Beiträge zur Kenntnis vorzüglich des gegenwärtigen Zustandes von Frankreich und Holland.* Leipzig, 1792. p. 2. (Küttner visited France in 1787 and again in 1791.)

³ *ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 239.

for English scenery is Karl Philipp Moritz—a friend of Goethe—whose unhappy experiences on a foot-tour through England failed to dampen his ardor for the beauty of the country. “The earth is not the same everywhere,” he writes,¹ “How different did I find these rich, fertile fields, the green of the trees and hedges, the whole Elysian landscape, from ours and from all the others I have seen! How splendid these roads, how firm this earth under my feet; at every step I felt that I was walking on English soil.” He goes still further in extolling the beauties of England over the scenery of his own country, telling us that the most commonplace region of those he visited in England would pass for a paradise in Germany.² According to Haller, only the absence of vineyards marred the perfection of the English landscape.³ But the scenery of England was found to be so pleasing in the springtime that only his gallantry prevented Baron Bielfeld from pronouncing it the most beautiful thing he had ever seen. As it was, he wrote to a certain “Mademoiselle von —”:⁴ “After you, nature has never yet offered anything to my sight so beautiful as the spring in England. The grass that now grows is thicker and more luxuriant and forms a finer turf than is to be seen in any other country of Europe; even the verdure itself appears to me brighter.”

It was not the scenery alone that made a tour of England in the eighteenth century so delightful to a visitor who had traveled extensively on the Continent. In no other country of Europe were found such favorable conditions of travel, in no other except France were the roads so good, nowhere were finer horses and carriages to be found, and nowhere were the postillions more capable and obliging.⁵ Above all, the English

¹ *Reisen eines Deutschen in England im Jahre 1782* (*Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, V. 126—Berlin, 1903), p. 7.

² *ibid.*, p. 80.

³ *Tagebücher seiner Reisen*, etc., p. 120.

⁴ *Letters of Baron Bielfeld*, translated from the German by Mr. Hooper. 4 Vols. London, 1768. Vol. IV, p. 157. (April 25, 1741.)

⁵ We must, of course, bear in mind that the visitor's impressions of England were based largely on a comparison of the conditions he found there with those of his own country, so that he gives us frequently a relative, rather than an exact view of what he saw. W. E. Mead, in his interesting work, *The Grand*

inns surpassed those of other countries in cleanliness and comfort, if not in cuisine. For all these advantages the tourist had to pay rather dearly, and frequent are his complaints of the exorbitant charges of the landlord, which had to be supplemented by gratuities to each and every one of the numerous servants lined up at the door to see him started off aright; that is, with a lightened purse. For the most part, however, the visitors were willing to pay English prices for the comforts they enjoyed and to deliver themselves for a season into the hands of the country's profiteers, hoping—if we may judge at all from the innumerable titles of such works to be found in the book reviews of the century—to retrieve their lost fortunes, upon their return home, by publishing an account of their travels and experiences.

In the year 1777 Dr. Carl Heinrich Titius, a naturalist, made a tour of Holland, England and France. As to transportation, he says:¹ "However rapidly one may travel in France in the stagecoaches and however good, too, are the French roads; still, the special service of England has the advantage of better horses and carriages, and one can travel, by means of them, perhaps faster, also somewhat more cheaply than in France." Of the vehicles, Büschel says:² "With a slight alteration these chaises would pass as carriages of state in Germany, so handsome they are and at the same time such elegant, comfortable conveyances. Not a nail is missing, not a spot is to be seen, nor the slightest rent in the upholstery." He continues with a comparison of travel in England and Germany. In the former country, at the end of each stage the traveler finds horses already harnessed and a driver awaiting him. Almost before he knows it, he is again speeding on his way. In Germany, on the other hand,

Tour in the Eighteenth Century (Boston and New York, 1914, p. 43), tells us that the overturning of a coach in the immediate neighborhood of London was a very common incident, and that in wet weather there was in London a veritable slough between Kensington Palace and St. James' Palace. But the same writer points out (*ibid.*, p. 68) that the conditions of travel in Germany were even more primitive.

¹ Bernoulli, Johann, *Sammlung kurzer Reisebeschreibungen*. 16 Vols. Berlin, 1781-83. Vol. X, p. 27.

² *Neue Reisen*, etc., p. 27.

the exchange of horses is accomplished only with confusion and involves a delay, which is frequently as long as the time required to make a distance of ten or twelve miles in England.

The German visitor to England, after a single experience, could be counted on to avoid a trip on the outside of a coach. Johann Georg Forster gives a description of the torments of traveling in such a manner:¹ "The seat is endurable, but very hard, and one holds to a crooked iron bar, which is fastened as a balustrade to the edge; but the feet must be firmly planted against the coach-box, which results in giving the entire body a violent shaking. In such a seat one has not a moment's safety, once the iron rail is released. Never is one comfortably seated, and, accordingly, a change of position is necessary every five minutes. In short," he concludes, "I know of nothing that can compare with it, save the torments of a German stage-coach." Nevertheless, as the unfortunate Moritz observes,² the poorest man would rather run the risk of breaking his neck as a passenger on the outside of a coach than travel even a short distance on foot. Goede, twenty years later, finds this condition unchanged:³ "On account of the splendid roads and excellent inns, which we may expect to find even in the villages, England would be well adapted to foot-tours, but the latter are still almost as unusual as at the time when Moritz wandered painfully through Derbyshire."

In their praise of the inns visitors to England were almost unanimous. The cleanliness, the cheerful atmosphere, the careful attention of landlord and servants to the comfort of the guest, made the latter feel at home from the moment of his arrival. Forster has much to say about the excellence of English inns. In them, he writes,⁴ "all is attention, and the most ordinary traveler is treated as if he were the first lord. The servants run to the carriage as soon as they see someone

¹ *Ansichten vom Niederrhein, von Brabant, Flandern, Holland, England und Frankreich* (1791), *Sämmtliche Schriften*. 9 Vols. in 5. Leipzig, 1843. Vol. III, p. 410.

² *Reisen eines Deutschen, etc.*, p. 101.

³ *England, Wales, Irland und Schottland*. 2nd ed. 5 Vols. Dresden, 1806. Vol. V, p. 6.

⁴ *Ansichten, etc.*, p. 378.

arriving; the landlord himself appears and welcomes his guests. He serves them at the table, and the chamber-maid sees to it carefully that the beds are fresh and clean." Nemnich, who traveled somewhat later in England, does not agree with Forster as to the hospitable reception of all guests at the inns. He advises the tourist to drive up in state, unless he can reconcile himself to being assigned to very poor lodgings, for which, however, he would have to pay the price of the best.¹

Goede contrasts English inns with those of his own country:² "All travelers confess that they were most pleasantly surprised by the elegance of the hostelries in all parts of England. One often finds inns in English villages with which the large hotels of many a German capital would not bear comparison." Küttner, in 1791, after extensive travels over Europe, professes to know of no nation that can even remotely compare with England in respect to the excellence of entertainment to be had by the tourist in the country.³ In particular, he finds that French inn-keepers have no conception of the cleanliness, elegance and comfort one finds in almost any English inn.⁴ We might go on indefinitely citing passages from eighteenth century German writers in praise of the English inn and its proprietor; their enthusiasm does not surprise us, in view of contemporary conditions in Germany as described by foreign visitors. One of these, an Englishwoman, Marianna Starke, writes⁵ that "the Germans seldom have a wash-hand basin in any of their country inns; and even at Villach, a large town, we could not find one: the inn we slept at, however, (its sign the Crown) is clean and good, though tall people cannot sleep comfortably either here or in any part of Germany: the beds, which are very narrow, being placed in wooden frames, or boxes, so short that anybody who happens to be above five feet high must absolutely sit up all night supported by pillows; and this is, in fact, the way in which the Germans sleep."

¹ *Neueste Reise durch England, Schottland und Irland*. Tübingen, 1807. p. 83.

² *England*, etc. Vol. V, p. 8.

³ *Beiträge zur Kenntnis . . . von Frankreich*, p. 240.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 252.

⁵ *Letters from Italy between the years 1792 and 1798*. 2 Vols. London, 1800. Vol. II, p. 209.

It would be a mistake to believe that German visitors found everything about the English inn to their liking; as to the food, it usually did not please them at first, and only after a long residence did some of them come to prefer it to their own or to that of the French. In fact, in this one respect the German regularly found himself better off in France than in England. He complains that the food is too raw, there is too much meat, the inevitable roast beef does not appeal to him, the vegetables, prepared without seasoning, he finds insipid. Lichtenberg was among those who did not care for the food, however much he liked England in other respects. "The Englishman," he says,¹ "cooks his soups in his stomach, and so he is certain of not allowing the substance to escape."

While the food was not altogether to the German's liking, he was usually well pleased with what he had to drink. Comments on the amount of tea consumed by all classes are frequent. Wendeborn asserts that three times as much tea is drunk in England as in all the rest of Europe together.² But luckily for the German in England, he did not find himself dependent upon tea as his chief beverage. Archenholz, who enjoyed a long residence there, would probably have considered it unsafe to tarry so long, had prohibition been in force. He discovered that³ "a foggy air and nourishing food make it necessary to drink strong liquors in England. Those who use water," he attests, "often lose their health and sometimes their life." Nor does Büschel find his happiness disturbed by the necessity of drinking tea; "The commonest drink at table," he tells us,⁴ "is small beer and strong beer or porter, seldom ale. The last two drinks are quite to my liking; I can drink like a real Englishman, and few days pass that I do not drink three pots of this splendid strong beer without experiencing the slightest discomfort."

¹ *Bruchstücke aus dem Tagebuch von der Reise nach England. Vermischte Schriften.* Vol. III, p. 284.

² *Der Zustand des Staats, der Religion, der Gelehrsamkeit und der Kunst in Grossbritannien gegen Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts.* 4 Vols. Berlin, 1785. Vol. I, p. 312.

³ *A Picture of England*, translated from the French (of *England und Italien*). 2 Vols. in 1. London, 1789. Vol. II, p. 114.

⁴ *Neue Reisen*, etc., p. 41.

London in the middle of the eighteenth century counted about 600,000 inhabitants. To the German visitor, familiar only with the small cities of his native land, it was a never-failing source of wonder. It was always the goal of his travels to England, and he arrived always prepared for a thrill. The illumination of the streets did not fail to make its impression on every foreigner. Moritz refers to it, relating the same anecdote that was told, in varying form, of numerous visitors to London: "The lamps are lit," he says,¹ "while it is still day, and they are so close together that this ordinary lighting has the appearance of a festive illumination; for which it was taken by a German prince who came to London for the first time and who believed seriously that it had been arranged in his honor." The shop windows, too, come in for a large share of the stranger's admiration. In them were displayed the choicest products of art and industry from the four corners of the earth. Moritz could see no necessity for text-books and engravings with which to instruct children; they had but to go through the city streets in order to see everything for themselves; for paintings, works of art and luxuries of all kinds were exhibited to the best advantage in the show-cases and windows of the shops.²

One of the early German visitors to England in the eighteenth century was Baron Pöllnitz, whose first recorded visit was in 1728. Not considering Harwich worthy of his notice, he hurried on to London, which he describes³ as "that city which, for its extent, the number of its inhabitants and their wealth, may pass not only for the capital of a powerful kingdom, but even for the capital of Europe: that city where true liberty bears rule; where the arts and sciences are cultivated and protected; where the inhabitants enjoy the goods of fortune without vain ostentation; where merit is considered and birth highly valued, when accompanied with virtue: that city, in fine, where are still to be found those Roman souls which other nations admire, but know not how to imitate." Fifty

¹ *Reisen eines Deutschen*, etc., p. 19.

² *ibid.*, p. 149.

³ *The Memoirs of Charles-Lewis, Baron de Pöllnitz*. Translated from the German by Stephen Whatley. 5 Vols. Dublin, 1738. Vol. III, p. 263.

years later Lichtenberg, on the occasion of his second visit to England, writes of London in the same glowing terms to his friend, Dietrich:¹ "London is quite after my own heart. I like it not so much on account of the many amusements, for those are trifles, but on account of the politeness and respect with which one is treated, so soon as one only makes himself presentable and pays for what he eats and drinks."

Küttner, like many of his fellow-countrymen, in his enthusiasm for London gives Paris second place.² He admits that it is difficult to compare the two cities, since each has good and bad features; but of the former he allows London a larger, and of the latter, a smaller share.³

The admiration of the eighteenth century Germans for London, however, did not blind them to its shortcomings. None of them claimed that it was a city of beauty; the streets were, for the most part, narrow, crooked and ill-paved, and the public buildings were usually a disappointment to the visitor. Those that in magnificence came up to his expectations suffered frequently from their unfavorable environment to such an extent that they did not produce nearly the same effect as less pretentious structures in other parts of Europe. In general, too, as we shall see later on, Germans did not assign to English architecture a very high place. It was

¹ *Briefe*. 3 Vols. Leipzig, 1901. Vol. I, p. 219 (Feb. 15, 1775.)

² *Beiträge zur Kenntnis . . . von Frankreich*, p. 28.

³ That London continued to fascinate the German visitor after the period we have under consideration may be seen from what Heine—whose hatred of England is as pronounced as the anglomania of the majority of his compatriots—has to say on the occasion of his first visit to the metropolis, in 1827: "I have seen the greatest wonder which the world can show to the astonished spirit; I have seen it and am still astonished; and still there remains fixed in my memory the stone forest of houses, and amid them the rushing stream of faces of living men with all their motley passions, all their terrible impulses of love, of hunger, and of hatred—I mean London." (*Englische Fragmente. Sämmtliche Werke*. 21 Vols. Hamburg, 1876. Vol. III, p. 15. The passage quoted is from a translation by Charles Godfrey Leland in the *German Classics*. 20 Vols. New York, no date, Vol. VI, p. 137).

No less vivid was the impression of London on Theodor Fontane, who spent there the summer of 1852 and who, on viewing the city, was overcome with "the feeling of the infinite—the same feeling that thrills us at first sight of the ocean." (*Aus England und Schottland*. Berlin, 1900. Pt. I, p. 4.)

primarily English life that made London so attractive to the stranger within its gates. Certainly that was the case with Archenholz, as it was with many of his fellow-countrymen. He asserts that the attractions of the entire country are so numerous that¹ "no stranger ever remains there any time without being attached to it by some secret charm," and Baron Pöllnitz was so delighted with his stay in London that he declared he would renounce the most brilliant offers of fortune elsewhere, if he could only have a thousand pounds a year in England.²

¹ *A Picture of England*. Vol. I, p. 4.

² *Memoirs*. Vol. III, p. 304.

CHAPTER II

POLITICS AND RELIGION

With the exception of English literature, it was English politics that claimed the largest share of the attention of the German public, and to the German in England nothing else was of more interest than the government of the country, its laws and political institutions.¹ To give a complete presentation of German views on eighteenth century English politics would be equivalent to writing the political history of England of that period, so abundant is the material available for such a task. The object of the present investigation is not to follow German writers through the intricate course of the nation's domestic and foreign affairs during the period under consideration, but simply to ascertain what was in general the German opinion of the English state. As may be readily conceived, the Germans who came into contact with English life were impressed, above all, with the freedom and democracy of the nation, and this impression is reflected in all their writings, whether of a political nature, or not. Since love of freedom and a democratic spirit have always been recognized as traits of the individual Englishman, they will be taken up later on in our study of the English character.

The unfailing interest of the British public in politics was, of course, something new to the German. "In general nothing is more difficult," writes Archenholz,² "than to make an Englishman speak; he answers to everything by *yes* or *no*; address him, however, on some political subject, and he is suddenly animated; he opens his mouth and becomes eloquent: for this seems to be connected, from his infancy, with his very existence. . . . Nothing but politics is heard in any society: they talk of nothing but about meetings to consider the affairs of the state, deputations to present petitions,

¹ See Intro., p. XVI.

² *A Picture of England*. Vol. I, p. 67.

remonstrances, etc." Moritz was one of the many Germans in whom an interest in politics was first awakened by a visit to England, for, as he explained,¹ he had not found it at home to be a subject worth while. Vincke, who visited the country in 1800 and some years later [1808] wrote a treatise on its government, voices the opinion of his countrymen when he says:² "Among the various interesting prospects which a closer acquaintance with Great Britain offers, the most remarkable is undeniably the great machine of state in the entire domestic administration of the kingdom, without the visible participation of the governing power." To Albrecht von Haller England was virtually a model monarchy, of which the principles of government went back in an unbroken line to Alfred the Great. In the introduction to his *Alfred, König der Angel-Sachsen* [written 1773],³ he says: "How the constitution, manners and religion of a people may undergo frequent alterations, while through all such vicissitudes the love of freedom may still remain inherent in them and display proofs of its influence on every occasion; how this general sentiment, exalted by all private interests, may yet in no particular give use to any excess, but may produce an equilibrium of power in the whole fabric of the state; how this spirit of independence may find the way of limiting the power of the king by means of a parliament, and the authority of the latter by means of the king, and the influence of one house by that of the other; and how these strong and multifarious bonds of liberty may give to all classes of the people a lofty elevation of character; all these great and splendid problems find their solution in the history of the English nation."

The constitution of England usually won the admiration of the Germans who studied it, though they were not blind to its defects. Archenholz is one of its strongest defenders; Wendeborn on the other hand often makes it the object of his severest criticism. Volkmann, who resided for some time in Great Britain, finds the chief advantage of the constitution

¹ *Reisen eines Deutschen*, etc., p. 30.

² *Darstellung der innern Verwaltung Grossbritanniens*. Berlin, 1815. p. 1.

³ Translated into English by F. Steinitz under the title of the *Moderate Monarchy*. London, 1849. See p. XXV.

in its allowing to each branch of the government authority to promote the common good, but to no one branch the opportunity of jeopardizing the nation's welfare or of suppressing the action of another branch. The king has his hands free to benefit his subjects, but his powers of doing them harm are restricted. On the other hand, Volkmann considers it unfortunate for England that the nation is divided into two parties and holds that private interests are generally responsible for party alignments. As a further defect he regards the extent of the crown's influence, especially in the lower house, where the need and avarice of the representatives make them a ready prey to bribery and corruption.¹

To the eighteenth century German, coming as he did from a country composed of small absolute monarchies, each under the rule of a prince who was, potentially at least, a tyrant, the question of the king's power and his relation to the people was of especial interest. Berckenmeyer, whose naive statements are usually more entertaining than instructive, says:² "The majesty of the king is so inviolable that the mere thought of laying hands on his sacred person and killing him is considered high treason and *lèse-majesté*. To them [i.e., the kings] is shown such respect that it amounts almost to worship." He goes on to tell us that the kings of England, like those of France, possess the power of healing goitres by their touch. Helferich Peter Sturz in a letter from London dated September 5, 1768, and first published in the *Deutsches Museum*,³ gives an interesting discussion of the king's position. He says that the visitor to London, unfamiliar with the English constitution, who saw the king on a state occasion, surrounded by his bowing courtiers, would believe himself to be not in the land of freedom, but at the court of some oriental sultan. "A few steps from this scene," he continues, "in the St. James Café, he finds a newspaper which reviles the government in terms of seditious insolence. For a long time he can not decide which of the two phenomena was a dream. He is

¹ Volkmann, J. J. *Neueste Reisen durch England*. 4 Vols. Leipzig, 1781-83. Vol. I, p. 49 ff. (Volkmann's visit to England was in 1761.)

² *Neuermehrter Curieuse Antiquarius*, pp. 201-202.

³ 26 Vols. Leipzig, 1776-88. 1779, Vol. I, part 2, p. 97.

unable to explain the contradiction; finally he believes with the crowd that the regal splendor was only an empty spectacle and that the newspaper is the spirit and voice of an unruly people. . . . Nevertheless," the writer concludes, "an English king, so long as he does not rule arbitrarily, is a powerful lord, and, if it is possible for happiness to dwell on a throne, a happy one." Baron Pöllnitz, that consistent lover of all things English, says:¹ "All that find fault with the English for disaffection to their kings have not duly read their history, or are fond of slavery; and they who think a king of Great Britain is to be pitied because he is not absolute, have a false notion of kingly power. A monarch of England is capable of doing as much good as any king in the world, but he can do no wrong."

Germans whose *Wanderlust* took them to England could count on being highly entertained by a visit to Parliament, and they were usually surprised, frequently shocked, by what they saw there. In a century that produced Robert Walpole, the two Pitts, Burke, Fox and so many other great statesmen, they were naturally impressed with British eloquence, but they also had an opportunity to look around and observe some peculiar English customs. Moritz, who declared he would have considered himself well repaid for his trip to England, had he seen nothing else than the Parliament, gives a graphic account of what he saw there, but he has little to say as to what he heard.² "It is nothing unusual to see a member of Parliament stretched out on one of the benches, while the others [members of Parliament, doubtless] are engaged in debate. Some crack nuts, others eat oranges, or whatever else the season offers. The coming and going is almost continuous." Nor does this German school-master consider the speakers sufficiently polite in their allusions to one another; of this he says:³ "Very surprising to me were the open insults with which the members of Parliament referred to each other, one of them saying, for instance, as another took his seat, 'what the honourable gentleman has just said is quite ab-

¹ *Memoirs*. Vol. III, p. 276.

² *Reisen eines Deutschen in England im Jahre 1782*, p. 31.

³ *ibid.*, p. 34.

surd.'" Wendeborn, during his long residence in London, frequently attended sessions of Parliament. According to him, too, the order was not the best, though he states that it was much better in the upper than in the lower house. Of the latter, especially, he tells us that "many are absent in body and many in their spirit, which is busied with thoughts of horse-races, fox-chases and cock-fights. During the most important debates many eat nuts or other fruits; many sit half asleep until it is time to vote, when those who are committed to the minister already know whether they are to say yes or no."¹

With but few dissenting voices German writers of the eighteenth century testify to the mildness and excellence of British laws and courts of Justice. Haller declares that the laws of England are milder than those of any other European country,² and Pöllnitz says:³ "All the laws here are mild and not severe. There are no tortures, nor are such made use of even in conspiracies. . . . There are but two sorts of execution known here, hanging and beheading." Talbot, in Schiller's *Maria Stuart*,⁴ affirms that it was not the purpose of the founders of the British Empire that austerity should characterize its system of justice:

Die Stifter dieses Reichs,
Die auch dem Weib die Herrscherzügel gaben,
Sie zeigten an, dass Strenge nicht die Tugend
Der Könige soll sein in diesem Lande.

A contributor to the *Neue Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*⁵ records that in general there is in Germany a very high conception of English laws and courts of justice, but is inclined to believe with Hassel, whose *Briefe aus England* he reviews, that these are among the English institutions that have been over-rated by Germans.

Even Wendeborn, of whom his countrymen agree that he is too assiduous in ferreting out the faults of everything

¹ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. I, p. 54.

² *Tagebücher seiner Reisen*, p. 119.

³ *Memoirs*. Vol. III, p. 291 (Whatley's translation).

⁴ Act II, Scene III.

⁵ 107 Vols. Kiel, 1793-1806. Vol. II (1793), pt. 2, p. 325.

British,¹ admits that the accused may expect to receive "all the consideration and indulgence that is compatible with the laws."² The same writer, however, sees no mildness in the decrees of the English courts, since the death sentence, which, in his opinion, should be reserved for murder alone, is much too frequent.³ Büschel, too, finds too much severity in the indiscriminate sentences of the courts.⁴ "Whoever steals five shillings or its equivalent is hanged; whoever practices any sort of forgery is hanged; and whoever commits the most horrible crimes and outrages is likewise hanged." Goede, on the other hand, himself a lawyer, testifies to the justness of the decisions of English courts:⁵ "In no other country in the world is the sentence of the judge more highly regarded; in no other country are complaints of partiality and injustice of the courts more seldom heard."

To most Germans the system of trial by a jury of one's equals seemed a great boon for the accused, but Hassel and Wendeborn, again, saw chiefly the disadvantages of this method. The jurymen, according to the former, were frequently totally ignorant and devoid of all conscience, inasmuch as the upright citizen shunned the whole affair.⁶

Georg Forster, who attended the trial of Warren Hastings, is enthusiastic in his praise of English justice. He estimates that about two thousand people attended each session of the court in Westminster Hall during this trial and that easily five hundred thousand, in all, may have witnessed the judgment of their fellow countryman. It is in this general participation of the people in the proceedings of the courts that Forster finds the great advantage of the English system of justice. "Divine publicity!", he exclaims,⁷ "sublime dignity of justice that does not shun the light! Let no people, no country,

¹ See, for instance, *Neue Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*. Vol. XXV (1796), part 2, p. 308.

² *Zustand*, etc. Vol. II, p. 43.

³ *ibid.*, p. 40.

⁴ *Neue Reisen*, etc., p. 69.

⁵ *England, Wales, Irland und Schottland*. Vol. II, p. 129.

⁶ *N. A. d. B.* Vol. II (1793), pt. 2, p. 325.

⁷ *Ansichten*, etc. *Sämmtliche Schriften*. Vol. III, p. 367.

no town dare call itself free, so long as its judges determine the destiny of their fellow men behind closed doors!"

The common law of England is recognized as a great advantage to the citizens of the country. Wieland felicitates¹ them, for instance, on the protection their unwritten law gives them against the outrage, quite common at that time in Germany, of publishing without permission letters injurious to the writer. Johann Georg Zimmermann observes that the English themselves know how to appreciate this feature of their legal system:² "These self-satisfied islanders consider their common or unwritten law . . . such a model of perfection that as early as 1469 Chancellor Fortescue, in his work written in praise of the same, held that it was a sin even to question it."

As to the prisons of England, Wendeborn believes them to be more numerous and more crowded than those of any other country. "The criminals are always very numerous, and the number of those who are deprived of their freedom on account of debts," he tells us,³ "is almost incredible." Schäffer attempts to correct the impression in Germany, for which he holds Archenholz partly responsible, that English prisons were clean and comfortable. He found them dark and dirty, and the debtors' prison, King's Bench, of which he had expected so much, he pronounced little better than any similar institution in Germany.⁴

Frequent are the comments on the fortitude with which the English met the death penalty and on the manner of its infliction. Pöllnitz says that those who undergo the ordeal without fainting are extolled to the skies by the populace as having died like gentlemen:⁵ "The execution of criminals here is a perfect show to the people, by reason of the courage with which most of them go to the fatal tree. I lately saw five carried to the gallows, who were as well dressed and seemed as well pleased as if they were going to a feast." Wendeborn thinks that nothing could be more cruel than

¹ *Der Neue teutsche Merkur*, 1797, Vol. I (April), p. 384.

² *Vom Nationalstolze*. 4th ed., Zürich, 1768. p. 144.

³ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. II, p. 44.

⁴ N. A. d. B. Vol. XXV (1796), pt. 2, p. 308.

⁵ *Memoirs of Charles-Lewis, Baron de Pöllnitz*. Vol. III, p. 292.

an English execution:¹ "To hang someone, then, while he is still alive, to take him down and open his living body in order to remove his heart, then to cut off his head, and finally to quarter him, and yet to say of other nations that they are barbarians in their punishments, is certainly forgetting one's own barbarity in judging others." It is very usual for German visitors to condemn the morbid interest which the English populace takes in hangings, and they often express their surprise that so many are present to witness these sad scenes; however, their own accounts of executions are so detailed as to make it appear that they speak of them from first-hand knowledge.

While two countries could scarcely have differed from each other in politics more than Germany and England in the eighteenth century, such was not the case in regard to religion. In both countries religious tolerance prevailed, both allowed free sway to the various sects that were established, and, toward the end of the century, the "free-thinker" was as much at home in Germany as in England. Accordingly, the German did not find so much that was new to him in religious as in political conditions. Whatever he thought of the Church of England and the other sects, he usually acknowledged that the English were a religious people and that the country was a great stronghold of Christianity. Albrecht von Haller says on this point:² "In theology, church history, natural laws, investigation of the human soul, they are unsurpassed." Küttner in his *Beiträge zur Kenntnis vorzüglich des Innern von England und seiner Bewohner* discusses the religion of the country and concludes that there is "far more Christianity on this island than in Italy and France."³

As for the Church of England, Wieland considers it very narrow in its orthodoxy;⁴ and Wendeborn affirms that it is by no means responsible for the religious tolerance of the country.⁵ Concerning the Episcopal clergy opinions vary,

¹ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. II, p. 32.

² *Tagebücher seiner Reisen*, p. 133.

³ *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*. Vol. CX (1792), pt. 1, p. 216.

⁴ *Der Neue deutsche Merkur*, 1796, Vol. 2 (August), p. 339.

⁵ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. III, p. 191.

but they are usually conceded to be highminded men. In this connection Baron Pöllnitz does not speak with his customary assurance:¹ "Whether these gentlemen are more sober than our clergy I know not; but by appearances I am almost tempted to think that they have the same thirst for honor and wealth, the same cares and uneasiness; in fine, that they are men alike." Moritz, himself a clergyman as well as a pedagogue, confirms the doubts raised by Pöllnitz:² "The English clergy, especially in London, are distinguished by a very free, dissolute life." But the extreme view is that of Andreas Riem, who refers to the English bishops as the "worthless representatives of Christ in England, villains who resemble only one of the apostles of the Saviour, the red-bearded scoundrel who betrayed him."³ Such statements are, however, very rare and are by no means to be taken as really representative of German opinion. As to the mental qualifications of the clergymen of the two countries, a German correspondent from London to the *Deutsches Museum* writes (May 5, 1779)⁴ that "it may be easier to find a man who knows the ways of the world among the distinguished English clergy than among our superintendents, etc. At the universities the great uniformity of the social classes, education and studies, which include only mathematics and *belles-lettres*, is an advantage to everyone. . . . But among the lower clergy," the writer continues, "the vicars and curates who really perform the duties of the offices, are found to be in England such ignorant, starving, cringing creatures as are hardly to be met with in any other Protestant country." Küttner says that the English clergy might be characterized as having no distinctive character; that is, that they are not distinguished, as in other countries, by a peculiar manner of life. As the chief traits of their moral character, he cites dignity and good-breeding and, especially, generosity and tolerance.⁵ Else-

¹ *Memoirs*. Vol. III, p. 302.

² *Reisen eines Deutschen*, etc., p. 52.

³ *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*. 208 Vols. Halle, 1785-1849. 1800. Vol. IV, No. 299 (Oct. 21) section 160.

⁴ *Deutsches Museum*. 1779, Vol. II, pt. 9, p. 285.

⁵ *Beiträge zur Kenntnis . . . von England*, etc. 16tes Stück, N. A. d. B. Vol. XXIX (1797), pt. 2, p. 410.

where he tells us that the English clergy is the most respected class of men he knows of in any land, being even more highly regarded than the nobility of their country; and he declares that, on the whole, they are worthy of the high esteem in which they are held.¹

The multitude and variety of religious sects in England could not fail to attract the foreigner's attention. Gottfried Achenwall, in his *Staatsverfassung der heutigen vornehmsten Europäischen Reiche*² attributes these numerous schisms to the Englishman's love of the freedom to believe what he wants to, and to confess what he believes. "Still," he adds, "it is certain that, as no country has hatched out more peculiar opinions in spiritual matters than England, no other, either, has produced greater representatives of the Christian religion." Volkmann expresses the same opinion.³ "The whimsical bent of the Englishman toward believing what he wants to, is partly responsible for the peculiar religious opinions that some have advanced. . . . Yet in England the true religion, too, has found very valiant defenders."

Of the different sects, the Methodists come in for the largest share of attention and the scantiest of praise. It may be presumed that Germans were somewhat familiar with the teachings of this new and rapidly growing denomination before coming to England, as the Methodists had much in common with the Moravians of their own country. Archenholz in his strong commendation of the Methodists and their leaders stands almost alone.⁴ His chief adversary in this, as in most other matters pertaining to England, is the Lutheran clergyman, Wendeborn, who says:⁵ "I have heard many Methodists preaching on the highways in portable pulpits, and it has often rent my heart, when I stopped to listen a few minutes, that common sense and religion should be so outraged. . . . They paint man in such terribly black colors that, if what these people say were true, the thoughtful hearer would ask

¹ *Beiträge zur Kenntnis . . . von Frankreich*, pp. 152-158.

² 7th ed., Göttingen. 2 pts. in 1 Vol. 1790, pt. I, p. 307.

³ *Neueste Reisen*. Vol. I, p. 56.

⁴ See *A Picture of England*. Vol. I, p. 168, ff.

⁵ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. III, p. 148. See also Vol. I, p. 101, footnote.

why the beneficent Creator of all things . . . should give existence to such a race of reprobates and monsters." Goede, too, who has unmitigated praise for the Presbyterians, condemns Methodism as a religion particularly unsuited to the English temperament. "To be sure, the Methodists preach humility, love of order and voluntary obedience," he admits,¹ "but nevertheless the harmful effects of this gloomy sect on the character of its adherents is unmistakable. The Englishman is by nature of a serious disposition. One may easily imagine, then, the evil effect on him of a system of faith that damns as sinful every natural impulse of joy and every cheerful pleasure and makes a duty of gloomy melancholy."

While the Methodists did not always receive the best of treatment at the hands of German authors, the Quakers on this score had no grounds for complaint. Goede again expresses the general opinion of German residents in England when he says:² "A sect which in England, where publicity watches every step and exposes every mistake, has steadily maintained for so long the reputation of honesty, respectability and unassuming virtue, is certainly far above the suspicion of hypocritical sanctimoniousness."

The German of the eighteenth century who looked into the condition of religion in England was impressed by the tolerance that prevailed throughout the various sects. He found that Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Baptists, Independents, Quakers, Jews and all the others, performed the interrelated tasks of their business and professional life without friction, that they dwelt together as neighbors and extended each other the hand as friends without concerning themselves about differences in creed.

¹ *England, etc.* Vol. II, p. 197.

² *ibid.*, p. 202.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The industrial and commercial importance of England was already beginning to loom large in the eyes of Germany by the middle of the eighteenth century, but for many decades Great Britain's material progress was regarded by the Germans as a benefit rather than a menace to other nations. It was to England that Germany turned for her early lessons in industrial development, and English wares were held in the highest esteem on the Continent. Nearly a half century after the close of the period under our consideration [1842] Friedrich von Raumer could still write of England's economic advancement as an unmitigated blessing to the world:¹ "England is the first kingdom, comprising the whole earth, uniting all nations. However, her chief importance and value does not lie in her geographic expansion, but in the highest material activity, connected with scientific progress and praiseworthy zeal for religious development. England is the eye of the spirit which turns toward all corners of the earth, active in all zones, preparing a noble future for mankind." But that England did not seek the participation of mankind in the preparation of this noble future, that her great commercial activity was not the outcome of an altruistic spirit, was already clearly recognized by Schiller:²

Seine Handelsflotten streckt der Brite
Gierig wie Polypenarme aus,
Und das Reich der freien Amphitrite
Will er schliessen wie sein eignes Haus.

Friedrich Wilhelm Taube, an early German economist, finds in her material prosperity the secret of England's great-

¹ *England*. 3 Vols. Leipzig, 1842. Vol. III, p. 7.

² "Der Antritt des neuen Jahrhunderts." *Sämt. Werke*. Säkular-Ausg. Vol. I, p. 155.

ness:¹ "By means of nothing else than the improvement and encouragement of agriculture and industry, England has risen in a period of two hundred years to the power and greatness in which we now see her."

German writers have no difficulty in pointing out the causes of English supremacy in industry and commerce. Friedrich von Gentz,² who is the partisan of the English against French charges of corrupt policies in their commercial relations with other countries, shows that the principles which determine the superiority of Great Britain in European manufacture are twofold, partaking of both a positive and a negative character. Among the positive causes of British economic prosperity he cites³ "the incomparable activity of the English nation, the extent of its capital, its wonderful improvements in all kinds of machinery, the great expertness of its navigators, the labors of a government studious of its real interests, the excellence of its internal constitution, its political and individual character." Another cause he finds in the intrinsic superiority of the products of the nation's industry. Negatively, he attributes English supremacy to⁴ "the comparative weakness and indolence of other nations, their ignorance of political economy, their neglect of many branches of industry and their necessary dependence on the activity of foreigners, consequences of their own faults." This second factor in England's industrial progress had already been pointed out by various German writers, among them Taube, who said:⁵ "The inefficiency, laziness and sleepiness of other nations busies so many hands in England that one does not know whether to wonder more at the idleness of the former or the industry of the latter."

To the excellence of English wares German writers testify

¹ *Abschilderung der engländischen Manufacturen, Handlung, Schifffart und Colonien.* Wien, 1777. pt. I, p. 60.

² For an interesting account of the English influence on Gentz, see F. Braune: *Edmund Burke in Deutschland.* Heidelberg, 1917. pp. 139-181.

³ *On the State of Europe before and after the French Revolution*, trans. from the German by John C. Herries. London, 1802. p. 323 (German original, 1801).

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 340.

⁵ *Abschilderung der engländischen Manufacturen*, etc. p. 59.

without a dissenting voice. In the *Teutscher Merkur* for January¹ 1798 we read in a letter from a German resident of London that every pursuit which in other countries is merely an acquired trade is in England an art in itself, as no one cares to be a "low mechanic." Achenwall pronounces the Englishman the best artisan in the world,² "for he works so that he will be satisfied with what he produces and always gives to his work the highest degree of perfection that he has once learned and attained. And as the Frenchman seeks to enhance the external value of his commodities by all kinds of adornment, the Englishman strives to give to his, by means of the utmost exactness and durability, a less transient internal value." This persistent striving after perfection and dissatisfaction with anything short of the best is a characteristic of the British artisan and artist that Küttner, too, commends to his countrymen. A telescope-maker like Ramsey, he tells us,³ demands for a telescope "a price which deafens the ears" and from which there is not a shilling's reduction, but this same Ramsey does not hesitate to smash an instrument worth thirty or forty pounds if it fails to come up to his standard of absolute perfection.

Nemnich, before the elaboration of his *Waaren-Lexikon*, intended for publication in twelve languages, realized that his work would lack completeness, unless he undertook a trip to England, "the present seat of the most highly developed industry, in order to learn everything at first hand."⁴ Accordingly he made the voyage in 1797. He marveled at the high state in which he found English manufacture. "How wonderful is this unique island!" he exclaims.⁵ "All the innumerable articles of necessity and luxury produced according to the most complete, attractive and tasteful design, all the commodities which, from shop to shop, offer new charms to the wondering stranger, are not of foreign manufacture, but are genuine products of British national industry."

¹ p. 83.

² *Staatsverfassung der . . . Europäischen Reiche*, Pt. I, p. 319.

³ *Beiträge zur Kenntnis . . . von England*, etc. 7tes Stück, N. A. d. B., Vol. XI (1794), pt. 1, p. 75.

⁴ N. A. d. B. Vol. LVI (1801), pt. 1, p. 243.

⁵ *Neueste Reise*, etc., p. 181.

Another of the causes frequently mentioned as contributing to England's success in industry is the workman's contentment with his lot and his inclination to seek advancement by excelling at his own trade rather than by exploring new fields. On this point Küttner says:¹ "Nowhere is the craftsman less infected by the folly of abandoning his position for a higher one than in England. To earn as much money as possible and to procure for himself an independent fortune is his ambition, and toward this goal he considers the way best which his father traversed before him. Such craftsmen are still to be found on the Continent only at Basel."

Eighteenth century Germans generally agreed, it seems, that England's chief merit in the realm of industry did not consist in inventive genius, but in perfecting the processes invented by others.² Even Büschel, an avowed friend of the British, rates England second to France in creative ability, but declares that it is the English who first bring everything to perfection.³ Goede, however, dissents entirely from this opinion.⁴ To him it would seem that the possibilities of human inventiveness were already exhausted, if every-day experience in England did not prove man's ingenuity to be boundless.

It has already been stated that Germany was quick to profit by the industrial progress of Great Britain. We have seen that Achenwall, looking on England as the great laboratory of practical economics, made a tour of the country in 1799 in the interest of science. But long before this Germany had begun to send investigators to England to study in the factories the latest manufacturing processes with a view to their introduction into German industry. Such, for instance, were the two young economists, Reisel and Müller, sent to England in 1765 by Minister von Schlaberndorf of Breslau "in order to collect for their Fatherland valuable data on agriculture and manufacture."⁵ In fact, the German in

¹ *Beiträge zur Kenntnis . . . von England*, etc. A.d.B. Vol. CX (1792), pt. I, p. 216.

² Cf. Wendeborn: *Zustand*, etc. Vol. I, p. 276.

³ *Neue Reisen*, etc., p. 221.

⁴ *England*, etc. Vol. III, p. 160.

⁵ For their report see Bernoulli's *Sammlung kurzer Reisebeschreibungen*. Vol. XIII, p. 325.

England seems to have made it a point to learn, for the benefit of his own country, as much as possible about English industry. That he met with no particular difficulty in accomplishing this purpose is attested by one Büsch, who visited England toward the close of the century:¹ "As the British are so glad to accept German workmen in their shops, it is not easily possible to prevent the disclosure of their inventions." With very few exceptions, however, German visitors found that the English made no effort to keep their manufacturing processes secret, but willingly shared their superior knowledge with the foreigner.² Germans were not without appreciation of the benefits which England's commercial ascendancy yielded them, if we may take as representative the attitude of Friedrich von Gentz, who says:³ "All Europe is extremely interested in the existence of a people among whom industry and ingenuity have been carried to so wonderful an extent; by whom numerous objects of general consumption are provided comparatively cheap and of excellent quality; and whose astonishing activity affords a striking, and not always fruitless example to other countries. The commercial greatness of England is, in all these respects, a manifest advantage to Europe."

It might seem that a consideration of the Britisher's commercial spirit and his love of wealth and luxury should be taken up in our study of his character, but as these qualities of the inhabitants are so closely connected with the industrial system of the country it is perhaps best to consider them here. Archenholz tells us that⁴ "no part of Europe exhibits such luxury and magnificence as the English display within the walls of their dwelling houses." Even the workingman, according to our German sources, had in England a higher standard of living than in any other country and was unwilling to deprive himself of the comforts of life, although his determination to satisfy his material demands often reduced him to pauperism.⁵ Klinger, who, with the exception of Andreas

¹ *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*. Vol. LXXIII (1787), pt. 1, p. 229.

² See, for instance, Nemnich: *Neueste Reise*, etc., p. 83.

³ *On the State of Europe*, etc., p. 347.

⁴ *A Picture of England*, Vol. I, p. 130.

⁵ See Weech, J. F.: *Reise über England und Portugal nach Brasilien und den*

Riem, seems to be the most anti-British German up to his time, accuses the English of crass commercialism:¹ "In England one now speaks of nothing but trade; certain other words which were formerly sometimes heard there, are entirely obsolete. I expect that trade will soon be preached from the pulpits there as the sole doctrine of happiness and salvation." This passage has a strangely modern ring, and still more do the following words from Karl August von Rade's *England in seiner tiefsten Erniedrigung*² seem to come from the Germany of 1914: "According to their way of putting it, the British, to be sure, are 'worth' a good deal, because they possess immense riches, but the philosopher and the historian will not measure them by this standard. On the contrary, their treasures will be considered the *irritamenta malorum*, which have reduced them to such degradation." Goede had already brought the same charge against the English, though in somewhat milder terms:³ "Many individual traits in the life of the English people seem to confirm the judgment of those who accuse them of a passionate *Geldsucht* and a petty, contemptible, striving for gain. The question, 'what is a man worth?' does not refer, according to the English usage, to his merit but to his fortune." We find frequent expression of the belief on the part of German students of English civilization in the eighteenth century that the country was facing ruin and dire calamity, brought on by an excess of prosperity. Even in the *Deutsches Museum*, a periodical into which an adverse criticism of England seldom finds its way, we read that⁴ "Great Britain is nearing the point at which Rome stood *vereinigten Staaten des La Plata-Stromes während den Jahren 1823 bis 1827*. (3 Vols. in 2. München, 1831.) Vol. I, p. 55, for an interesting discussion of this subject.

¹ *Betrachtungen und Gedanken über verschiedene Gegenstände*, 1801-1802. *Sämmtliche Werke*. 12 Vols. in 6. Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1842. Vol. XI, pt. I, p. 39.

² München and Berlin, 1915. p. 71. A reprint of a work which appeared anonymously in 1808. We might suspect this entire volume to be modern anti-British propaganda, if the mention of the original in Holzmann und Bohatta's *Anonymenlexikon* did not preclude such a view.

³ *England*, etc. Vol. II, p. 326.

⁴ 1779, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 101.

when Asia was plundered. Her triumphs in the recent war, her conquest of India, have spread wealth and corrupt customs, luxury and arrogance. The heroism of a nation is strengthened by resistance and weakens, once its ambitions are realized. This state has reached the point of maturity which borders on decay."

The English kings, however, were not inclined to participate in the extravagance and luxury of their people. German visitors to the court usually expressed their surprise at finding royalty so poorly housed. Archenholz is one of those who give us their impression of the king's surroundings:¹ "No sovereign in Europe is so badly lodged, keeps so poor a table or sacrifices so little to his pleasure. The economy of the court is such that I myself was present at a ball at St. James when the apartments were lighted with tallow candles, which were banished long since from all the genteel houses in London."²

It is true that no foreigner could come into contact with the British in the eighteenth century without observing their great eagerness to acquire wealth, but in the opinion of many of the German visitors the wise and beneficent use of the riches accumulated redeemed the commercial spirit of the people. Archenholz again speaks for a large element of his countrymen when he says:³ "In all countries there are countless examples of a union between wealth and stupidity; in England, on the contrary, where money and honor are so often the fruits of talent and knowledge, the employment which the rich make of their treasures is ample proof that an alliance is possible also between bounty and common sense."

¹ *A Picture of England*. Vol. I, p. 34.

² Cf. Pöllnitz, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 278, for a similar view regarding George II. Archenholz is writing here of George III.

³ *Annalen der brittischen Geschichte des Jahres 1788-96*, hrsg. von J. W. von Archenholz. 20 Vols. Braunschweig (Vol. I). Hamburg (Vol. II-XI). Tübingen (Vol. XII-XX). Vol. I, p. 298.

CHAPTER IV

ENGLISH CULTURE

The intellectual life of the English in the eighteenth century was on the whole scarcely less remarkable to the contemporary foreigner than their material progress. In literature, in philosophy and in the sciences, as in industry, England was recognized as a country of the greatest enlightenment, and many important intellectual currents of eighteenth century Germany may be traced directly to an English source. Not in all fields, however, were the achievements of British culture equally noteworthy. In the fine arts, for instance, England was not abreast of the other leading European countries; even her warmest admirers could not claim that she surpassed them in sculpture, painting and music. Wendeborn probably expresses the general opinion prevalent on the Continent, when he says of the English:¹ "It is admitted that, with compass and ruler at hand, they are good craftsmen, but no one will admit that they have taste and genius for the fine arts. They can calculate well, but their imaginative powers are said to be lifeless and their feelings for the artistically beautiful, extremely dull." Wendeborn, however, does not consider the outlook for art in England altogether black, for he adds: "There are now a few excellent masters of painting among the English, a few good engravers, architects and others who are a credit to the arts. The future may produce still more." To Volkmann the progress of England in the arts seemed very rapid: "It was scarcely fifty years ago," he observes,² "that the English raised themselves from mediocrity, but now they are hastening all the more rapidly toward perfection and are already overtaking other nations which formerly accused them of a total lack of artistic ability." England's chief contribution to the cause of art is held to

¹ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. IV, pp. 350-351.

² *Neueste Reisen durch England*. Vol. I, p. 101.

come not from the creative genius of her artists, but from the generosity of her men of means. Through the erection of public monuments to commemorate the deeds of her great men, through rewards offered by private citizens to stimulate artists to their best efforts, through collections of antiques, or at least copies of the classics, in all branches of art and finally through the encouragement and protection given to her own artists, England fulfills her artistic mission. In view of all this, Georg Forster declares that,¹ "in comparison with her contemporaries, England alone has done more for the advancement of painting and sculpture, more for the development of the artists themselves than all the rest of Europe together."

Various causes were given for England's backwardness in the arts. Winckelmann, observing that the warmest regions of Italy produced the greatest artists, inclined to the opinion that the climate was too cold for genius to thrive in England;² but this theory failed to satisfy the majority of his countrymen, and other explanations were sought. Eschenburg held the church largely responsible for England's failure to take her place beside Italy in the world of art.³ "The Reformation of England coincided precisely with the most flourishing period of Italian art, and the sternness with which they resisted there [in England], more than in Teutonic countries, the representation in art of subjects from biblical history and legend, two such fruitful sources of the artist's material in Italy and France, this sternness and the prevailing opposition to all artistic decoration of churches, which continued long afterwards and received new strength from Puritanism, seems to have been one of the chief hindrances to artistic taste and its earlier dissemination in England." Wendeborn subscribes to the explanation of England's artistic sterility which, he states, is advanced by the English themselves; namely, that the national character of the people was already definitely moulded

¹ "Geschichte der Kunst in England." *Ansichten, etc. Sämmlische Schriften.* Vol. III, p. 484.

² *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums.* Dresden, 1764. Part I, p. 19.

³ *Annalen der brittischen Geschichte des Jahres (l) 1788-96.* Vol. XI. Hamburg, 1795. p. 307.

before they began the cultivation of the fine arts.¹ Furthermore, Freedom, according to the same critic, is not the patroness of the arts and sciences. He points to Greece, Italy and France in order to prove that genius has been most productive during the periods of the greatest governmental tyranny and oppression. Freedom, he holds, is most favorable to trade and commerce and leads to the accumulation of great wealth, which blinds its possessor to the merits of the man of learning and talents.²

As the eighteenth century advanced, the German tourist in England found much to occupy his attention in the public and private art collections. Volkmann, whose chief object in visiting England in 1761 was to inspect these treasures, says in the introduction to his *Neueste Reisen durch England*.³ "The English have collected at astonishing expense such treasures of art in this century that half Italy is now found transplanted, so to speak, into their country." But Wendeborn claims that very little general advantage was derived from the private collections.⁴ "I have often had occasion to observe that in England the owners of such collections, on account of their avarice and selfishness, are not inclined to share them with others." This opinion is rather isolated, for the German visitor usually found ready access to the art collections, as well as to the manufacturing plants of England. Goede, for instance, is not in agreement with this last mentioned critic.⁵ "A foreigner meets with no difficulty in seeing the art collections of the English, who in this respect are very obliging."

That England's attainments in sculpture were inferior to those in all other fields seems to be the consensus of German opinion. Pöllnitz has comments to this effect,⁶ and Schütz, a much later visitor to England, found several monuments at

¹ *Zustand des Staats*, etc. Vol. IV, p. 352.

² *ibid.*, p. 355.

³ p. ii.

⁴ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. IV, p. 360.

⁵ *England, Wales, Irland und Schottland*. Vol. IV, p. 10. See also Volkmann: *Neueste Reisen*, etc. Vol. I, p. ii, ff.

⁶ *Memoirs*. Vol. III, p. 267.

Westminster Abbey which he considered proofs of the poorest taste in sculpture.¹ Georg Forster finds the explanation of the backward state of this art in England in the physical make-up of the people:² "The Briton, whose nourishment is chiefly meat and strong beer, becomes corpulent, flabby and fat and, consequently, does not present such clear-cut, tense muscles as the body of the extremely frugal, lean, unencumbered Southern European. . . . A direct consequence of this difference in customs and physique is the inaccuracy of outline of which British artists are so often and so justly accused: a fault which the most careful execution of their otherwise well formed academic figures can not correct. No wonder, then," he concludes, "that among the creative arts in England sculpture shows the lowest degree of perfection."

As for the achievements of the English in painting, the Germans were inclined to value them somewhat more highly. Painting had many more devotees in England than sculpture, and Forster brands as false the frequent assertion that "the English knew absolutely nothing about the merits of a painting, but were regularly deceived in this respect by money-seeking impostors." In portrait painting, especially, the English were admitted to excel, due, in part, it was held, to their mania for seeing themselves represented on canvas; and in landscape painting they were not without merit; but, again, according to Forster,³ "when it comes to portraying gods and heroes, human nature conceived in the perfection of the possible, or even caught at the highest degree of beauty in the real, they are still far from the goal."⁴

The writer of an anonymous letter from London published in the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freien*

¹ *Neue Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*. Vol. V (1793), pt. I, p. 279.

² *Geschichte der Kunst in England*, p. 452.

³ *ibid.*, p. 459.

⁴ This unfavorable view persisted into the nineteenth century. Heine, for instance, was rather more severe than his predecessors as a critic of English art: "There is one thing in which the English are as ridiculous bunglers as in music; that is, in painting. They have excelled only in portraits, and only when they execute the portrait with the burin, not in colors, do they surpass the rest of Europe." (*Englische Fragmente. Sämmlliche Werke*. Hamburg, 1876. Vol. III, p. 190.)

*Künste*¹ in 1761 testifies to the excellence of English copper engravings: "To your question as to the state of the art of engraving in London I think I can reply confidently that this art at present has masters whose works refute the former impression of England's inferiority in this respect to other nations." As such masters the writer mentions Robert Strange, Frye, Ardell and Hogarth. Wendeborn, too, admits that England has made some progress in this art, but he reminds us that the best of the copper and steel engravings produced in England are the works of foreigners.²

German visitors did not fail to notice the peculiar position of music in English cultural life. The average Englishman of intelligence was found to be very fond of music, but totally devoid of anything like real musical appreciation.³ Forster describes the situation as follows:⁴ "The English people are not musical, and their national music, if their street songs may be reckoned as such, is by no means admirable. Since the introduction of German and Italian music there has been, to be sure, no lack of competent critics . . . ; but the native composers are still rare and of no especial merit." Goede is one of those who comment on the enthusiasm of the English for music, but even he—though usually their partisan—does not claim for them any great discrimination in musical taste:⁵ "If one may judge by outward appearances, no other fine art has so many devotees in England as music. A passionate love of music is observed particularly among the lower classes. Every hurdy-gurdy in the London streets, no matter how unmusical its tone, lures the English populace from all corners, and in a few minutes the wandering musician sees himself surrounded by a crowd of dirty listeners, who drink in with joyful enthusiasm the harmonies of his instrument."

¹ 12 Vols. Leipzig, 1757-65. Vol. VII (1761), pt. 2, p. 369.

² Wendeborn exerts himself to safeguard the reputation of foreigners in England and to see to it that none of their achievements be attributed to the native Englishman. See, for instance, *Zustand*, etc. Vol. IV, p. 390, p. 400, p. 422.

³ See review of *Sittengemälde von London*. N. A. d. B., Vol. LXXVII (1803), pt. 1, p. 150.

⁴ *Geschichte der Kunst in England*, p. 496.

⁵ *England*, etc. Vol. III, p. 155.

The eighteenth century German's impression of the Englishman as a devotee of music could hardly be better expressed than in the words of a modern writer, Fontane—and incidentally it is interesting to note that the German opinion on this point undergoes little change:¹ "Music, as everyone knows, is England's heel of Achilles. When one realizes with what musical monstrosities the English ear allows itself to be regaled from morning to night, one might well be inclined to deny the Englishman all sense of harmony. . . . However, it is not to be taken from the circumstance of the Englishman's lacking a musical ear that he does not delight in music; on the other hand, the old adage is again established that man cultivates most enthusiastically those talents with which the gods endowed him most sparingly."

For English architecture, likewise, the Germans had but scant praise. According to Forster, "most modern buildings in England sin, in their proportions, against all rules of architecture."² Here Moritz is almost alone with his favorable criticism. Upon his arrival in the first village he visited he was agreeably surprised at the³ "extraordinary neatness in the structure of the houses, which are built of red brick and have flat roofs." Baron Bielfeld, who was delighted with the "elegant simplicity and more solid than glaring magnificence" of the interior of the English homes he visited, wrote to Baron von K—— in Berlin, as follows:⁴ "The houses, even those inhabited by the nobility, have externally but a mean appearance, and the smoke of the coals gives them a black and disagreeable look." Büschel, too, gives an adverse criticism of English architecture:⁵ "I do not like the structure of the houses; they are built of nothing but brick and, with the exception of a few of the greatest palaces, are not even painted."

But landscape gardening as found in eighteenth century

¹ *Ein Sommer in London. Aus England und Schottland.* Berlin, 1900, p. 24.

² *Ansichten*, etc., p. 413.

³ *Reisen eines Deutschen*, etc. p. 7.

⁴ *Letters.* Vol. III, p. 61—London, Feb. 7, 1741.

⁵ *Neue Reisen*, etc. p. 36.

England did strike German visitors as a fine art. Volkmann describes it as¹ "the art of converting every spot into a beautiful portrait of nature and of producing, on an elevated surface, if possible, such effects, by means of the relative location of shrubbery, lagoons, turf and buildings, that one is carried continually from one charming scene to another." Nor was it in Germany alone that English landscape gardening was highly esteemed; all over the Continent English taste in this field was regarded as the criterion, and full credit was given to England for the development of the art. Hirschfeld, the first German theorist on this subject,² says:³ "The Briton was not only the first to attempt to formulate the true principles of horticulture in various writings, but he was also the first to make of them a successful application." Volkmann considers a visit to England essential to anyone who wishes to cultivate his taste in gardening, and Büschel is moved to exclaim:⁴ "Who could find fault with this taste, which pays homage to the mother of us all and silently testifies to the perfection of her works; which subordinates to her the works of man and resorts to the latter only to intensify her beauties, which imitates her crudeness, her gradual adornment, her perfection, and confines all the endless *nuances* in which she appears throughout the world into a little spot, which seems to call to every new-comer: 'Approach with reverence; thou enterest the temple of a divinity!'"

That the owner of almost every German estate of any importance could boast, by the end of the eighteenth century, of an English garden, or at least of something that resembled one, is amply attested.⁵ This particular symptom of anglomania met with considerable opposition in Germany. Hirschfeld, though enthusiastic in his commendation of the English garden, believed that the Germans, in horticulture as in everything else, should exercise their own originality: "When-

¹ *Neueste Reisen*, etc. Vol. I, p. 110.

² See *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. Vol. L. (Nachträge), p. 336.

³ *Anmerkungen über die Landhäuser und die Gartenkunst*. Leipzig, 1773. p. 74.

⁴ *Neue Reisen*, etc. p. 155.

⁵ See *Der Neue teutsche Merkur*. 1797. Vol. 2 (July), p. 329.

ever parks were to be constructed of considerable size and at a certain expense," he states,¹ "British gardeners were called not only to France, but to Germany as well. Nothing was more natural than for them to reproduce on German soil the ideas they had followed, or had seen executed, in their native country. We received copies, not originals. Would it not have been better for us to consult native connoisseurs or to devise original plans for parks as the result of careful reflection and study than to follow the caprice of a foreign, often incapable gardener, who on receiving his wages invariably laughed at the stupid good nature of the German?"

Johann Georg Jacobi, discussing this subject at considerable length,² declares he would not have an English garden, even if he were a young man and could afford the necessary expense. The pavilions representing various styles of architecture from all parts of the world and the substitution of beeches, oaks and poplars for the more useful fruit trees are the features to which he objects most seriously. Besides, as the private property of wealthy individuals, he finds such gardens too lifeless; he misses in them the reaper binding his sheaves or carrying home his harvest with a song on his lips, and the weary traveler refreshing himself under the trees. Justus Möser, whose residence in England just after the close of the Seven Years' War played an important part in his intellectual development, satirizes in an interesting sketch³ the mania for English gardens. The satire is in the form of a letter from *Anglomania Dom* to her grandmother and describes the transformation of an old German fruit and vegetable garden into a typical English park. The writer concludes her description of the new garden as follows: "Beyond the bridge, just where Grandma's laundry stood, a charming little Gothic *Dom* is under construction, because my husband's name is Gotherich Dom. I suppose he has this idea from the garden at Stowe,⁴ in which Lord Temple has built so many

¹ *Theorie der Gartenkunst*. 5 Vols. Leipzig, 1779-1785. Vol. IV, p. 15.

² "Ueber die englischen Gärten." (1807.) *Sämmtliche Werke*. 4 Vols. Zürich, 1825. Vol. IV, pp. 240-73.

³ "Das englische Gärtchen." *Patriotische Phantasien*. (1778-86). *Sämmtliche Werke*. 6 parts in 3 Vols. Berlin, 1842-43. pt. II, p. 330.

⁴ This was the original of gardens in the English style; see Delille, J., *Les jardins*. *Oeuvres*. 16 Vols. Paris, 1824. Vol. VII, p. 160 and note, p. 186.

temples. . . . In short, your nice little garden, Grandma, now resembles an enchanted island, where one finds everything that he does not seek and nothing that he does seek." The grandmother is invited to visit the new garden, but she is urged to come soon, "for before winter we shall go to Scheveningen to see the English garden which Count von Bentink has constructed there on the sand dunes. . . . From Scheveningen we shall perhaps go to England and thence on to China in order to take a look at the great iron bridge, the nine-story porcelain tower and the famous wall, which my husband wishes to take as models for some structures in the rear, near the gooseberry bush, where your peppermint bed was." The old lady is advised to bring along some cabbage, as there is no room in the new garden for such things.

We have numerous ways of ascertaining the German opinion of English literature in the eighteenth century. Much may be learned from the extent to which English authors were read in Germany, both in the original and in translations, and still more from the influence which the leading German writers of the century, consciously and unconsciously, derived from England.¹ Furthermore, we have definite statements regarding English literature from many Germans in the most varied walks of life, including the leading men of letters. Many volumes have been written about the English influence on German literature, and to go thoroughly into this subject is beyond the scope of the present study.² Every important English author and every considerable literary movement of England had an effect on the literature of eighteenth century

¹ The principal German men of letters who came under English influence through residence in England in the eighteenth were Haller, Hagedorn, Justus Möser, Johann Georg Hamann, Helferich Peter Sturz, Lichtenberg, Archenholz and Karl Philipp Moritz. Another pronounced disciple of English culture was Georg Zimmermann, who for fifteen years was first physician to George III during the periods of the latter's residence in Hanover.

² For a brief, but very suggestive treatment of the subject see Max Koch: *Ueber die Beziehungen der englischen zur deutschen Literatur im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*. Leipzig, 1883. See also Introduction, p. xvi. In the present series the following works are to be mentioned here—Tombo: *Ossian in Germany*. Thayer: *Laurence Sterne in Germany*. Kind: *Edward Young in Germany*.

Germany. Beginning in 1713 with the *Vernünffler* of Mattheson in Hamburg, a "moral weekly" patterned after the *Spectator* of Addison and Steele, the English influence continued in an unbroken stream, though overshadowed till well past the middle of the century by that of the French, which had long dominated German letters. Adolf Bartels in his *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur*¹ says: "That the Gallic spirit is not ours is recognized early enough, and so we soon begin to learn from the English as well as the French; at first, to be sure, only from such as have gone through the French school, from Pope, Gay and Pryor, Addison and the somewhat independent 'descriptive' genius, Thomson. Then we become more closely acquainted with Milton, the important novelist Richardson and finally Shakespeare; the French school is replaced by the English." As early as 1721 the English influence began to make itself felt in Switzerland, again through the medium of a moral weekly, the *Discourse der Mahlern*, of which Bodmer and Breitinger were the editors. They soon came to be recognized as partisans of the English school against the French, which found its chief defendant in Gottsched, and the struggle between the two schools for supremacy in Germany was begun in earnest. Long before his death, which occurred in 1766, Gottsched had gone down in defeat, but it was not until later, through the activities of the Storm and Stress writers of the seventies, that the fetters of French literary tradition were finally broken and the cry for an "imitation of nature," which to its originators meant an imitation of the English, became the watchword of German literature.²

In 1719 *Robinson Crusoe* was translated into German, and so popular was the work that in the following year it went through five editions. Exactly a half century later we read in the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*³ that "this well known book (the only one which Rousseau wanted to give his Emile,

¹ 2 Vols. Leipzig, 1901-02. Vol. I, p. 236.

² For a typical expression of the Storm and Stress anglomania at its worst, see Lenz' "Anmerkungen übers Theater." *Gesammelte Schriften*. 3 Vols. Berlin, 1828. Vol. II, p. 200, ff.

³ Vol. IX (1769), pt. 2, p. 258.

and the prolific mother of so many German *Robinsons*) is continually reprinted; it must, accordingly, find readers." This was the forerunner of a steady stream of translations from the English, which grew to enormous proportions as the century advanced. One may take up at random any of the German book reviews of the eighteenth century and expect to find listed therein new translations of English works or new editions of such as had already attained popularity in Germany. Those received with the greatest enthusiasm were the novels of Richardson, Fielding, Sterne and Smollett. The critics are almost unanimous in their praise of the English novelists. Richardson is said to "spread over his characters such a delicate mixture of colors that their despicable traits never become repulsive and their pleasing ones are made so charming that the reader becomes passionately interested in them."¹ As for Fielding, we are told² that "few writers know the human heart, life and the ways of the world so well as he. Few are so penetrating in discovering humor wherever it is to be found and in portraying it with such effect. The characters which Fielding depicts are genuine Nature, and, we might almost say, Nature in all her variety. Together with these especial talents Fielding possessed that most valuable faculty of being able to draw simply and naturally the finest reflections and the most useful morals from the most ordinary situations." Sterne is given equal rank with Rabelais and Cervantes and is charged with only one serious fault, that of having founded a new literary sect, so numerous were his imitators in Germany;³ and Smollett is recommended⁴ "for all dyspeptic stomachs, dyspeptic spleens, dyspeptic brains; in short, for all diseases that can be cured by laughter." But in spite of their general popularity these English novelists sometimes impressed an eighteenth century German as they do most of us today; in the opinion of Baron Bielfeld,⁵ for instance, "they understand the human heart perfectly well,

¹ A.d.B. Vol. IX (1769), pt. 2, p. 262.

² *ibid.*, Vol. VI (1768), pt. I, p. 311.

³ *ibid.*, Vol. XIX (1773), pt. 2, p. 579; Vol. XXXI (1777), pt. 2, p. 502.

⁴ *ibid.*, Vol. XI (1770), pt. I, p. 336.

⁵ *Letters*. Vol. IV, p. 149.

but anatomise it in too precise and diminutive a manner and disgust by their prolixity." According to the same critic,¹ "English romances are profound, unequal and sometimes tedious, as are many other of their writings in general and Shakespeare in particular; for the rest, they are sufficiently gloomy and give a severe and extravagant representation of the passions."

Many of the numerous German imitations of these English novels adhered so closely to their models that they were little more than a transplanting of foreign customs and manners to German soil. Lichtenberg makes such productions the object of his keenest satire. The difficulties of giving a German setting to an English romance he describes in part as follows:² "The harm done by the comfortable coaches and excellent roads in England can not be expressed in words. In the first place, if a girl elopes in London in the evening with her lover, she can be in France before her father wakes up, or in Scotland before he and his relatives decide what is to be done; therefore an author has no need of fairies or magicians or talismans to bring the lovers to safety. . . . In Germany, on the other hand, even if the father should remain ignorant of his daughter's flight until the third day, if he only knows that she took a stage coach, he can overtake her by horse at the third station." Of the seven varieties of style which Lichtenberg holds up to ridicule in his brief *Bitschrift der Wahnsinnigen*³ three are direct results of the English influence. These he characterizes as Great Shakespearean Nonpareil, Checkered English Jack-pudding and Variegated Boaster, with and without Sterne (Gross Shakespearisch Nonpareille, Englisch geschachter Hanswurst, Bunter Prahler, mit und ohne Yorick).

The interest in English literature produced its most revolutionary effects on the German drama. The *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* of Lessing, who, in spite of his advance beyond all predecessors, did not completely break with the French

¹ *ibid.*, p. 151.

² "Ueber den deutschen Roman," *Vermischte Schriften*. Vol. II, pp. 215-221.

³ *Vermischte Schriften*. Vol. II, pp. 222-231.

influence, Herder's essay on Shakespeare in *Von deutscher Art und Kunst* and Goethe's youthful oration, *Zum Shakespeare's Tag*, constitute the early effective propaganda for Shakespeare and the English drama in Germany. But even before these familiar works appeared, the cause of English dramatic literature was not without its German exponents. In the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freien Künste* of the year 1760 we find the following statement:¹ "We have already expressed more than once the wish that a good translator should venture to take up the English theater and make his countrymen familiar especially with the excellent old plays of Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, Ottway and others. It would perhaps have been much more beneficial to the German theater, had it takes these as models instead of being carried away by French gallantry and enriching itself with numerous plays that are at the same time extremely wretched and entirely consistent with the rules." A similar view is expressed by a contributor to the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*² in a criticism of Christian Heinrich Schmid's *Englisches Theater*, a translation of English plays in five volumes, of which the first appeared in 1769: "It is true enough that we still have too few original works for the theatre, and in what other way is this want to be supplied than by borrowing from our neighbors? And upon whom can the choice fall better than upon the English, partly because they are more in accord with our taste and partly because, aside from this, of our contemporaries they have produced the most and the best dramatic works?" Schmid seems to have maintained a lifelong interest in the English style of drama. Thirty years after the above mentioned work appeared we find in the *Deutsche Monatsschrift*³ an article from his pen on the *Literatur des bürgerlichen Trauerspiels* in which he gives a list of 229 "domestic tragedies" which had appeared in Germany up to that time, beginning in 1755 with *Miss Sara Sampson*. The

¹ From an exhaustive review of a work in three volumes entitled *Neue Probestücke der Englischen Schaubühne übersetzt von einem Liebhaber des guten Geschmacks*. Vol. VI (1760), pt. 1, pp. 60-74.

² Vol. XXIII (1774), pt. 2, p. 505.

³ Berlin, 1790-94; Leipzig, 1795-99. 1798, Vol. III, p. 282.

titles of many of these plays indicate definitely that they have an English background, and all, of course, were written more or less under the English influence.

That the excessive enthusiasm of the Storm and Stress dramatists for Shakespeare was their undoing was clearly recognized by many of their German contemporaries. Baron Riesbeck, a German who, in his writings, assumes the character of a Frenchman, without deceiving any one but himself, had in mind such dramatists as Klinger, Lenz and Maler Müller when he wrote the following passage:¹ "Shakespeare, whom Goethe, probably from whim or with the view to draw the attention of his countrymen to that great poet, proposed as his example in his *Götz*, became instantly the idol of the German dramatic writers; but not that Shakespeare who, like Raphael, paints man as he is under every circumstance and expresses every movement of the muscles and nerves and every emotion of the passions; but he who, for want of sufficient acquaintance with originals and due to education,² gives himself up to his own wild whims, flies over ages and countries and worlds, and in the pursuit of his fluctuating objects does not trouble himself about either unity or order." Helferich Peter Sturz, too, whose own writings show plainly the influence of his residence in England, warns against a blind imitation of the English dramatists, while he decries a servile adherence to the classical rules:³ "Still less would it meet with my approval, if one should violate, as the English do, all rules of unity, traveling by land and sea on the stage and extending the action of a single piece over many years. It is not so difficult to find a middle ground between this audacity and the timidity of the Frenchman, who scarcely dares, on his stage, to leave the room." The interest in English literature was by no means confined to *belles-lettres*. English philosophers, philologists and historians were widely read in Germany, and their style, moulded as it was to a considerable

¹ *Travels through Germany*, translated from the German by Paul H. Maty. 3 Vols. London, 1787. Vol. I, p. 70.

² Due to his defective education, is undoubtedly meant.

³ Preface to his tragedy, *Julie*. *Schriften*. 2 Vols. in 1. Carlsruhe, 1784. Vol. I, p. 197.

extent by their thorough study of the Greek and Latin classics, had a far-reaching effect on German writers in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Eschenburg toward the close of the century wrote for the *Minerva* of Archenholz an interesting series of letters under the title of *Grundzüge eines Gemäldes der deutschen Literatur während der drei letzten Jahrzehenden*, in which he traces the influence of foreign literature and foreign literary critics on German style. In the fourth letter¹ he asserts that "the works of the Englishmen, Burke, Gerard, Webb, Beattie, Blair and others, eagerly read both in the original and in translations, have undoubtedly contributed far more to the development and strengthening of the critical literary taste of the Germans than the scanty and far less instructive modern works of the French."

Few subjects receive more attention from German writers on England, particularly toward the close of the eighteenth century, than the Englishman's opinion of German literature. Böttiger contributed to the *Teutscher Merkur* for September, 1797, an article on *Wie urtheilt das Ausland über deutsche Literatur*,² which begins with the following confession: "A peculiarity of our nation which has been frequently observed and criticised is the anxious looking about and listening to determine what foreign nations think of us." The Englishman's opinion of the German enters, as a matter of course, into the latter's estimate of the former; therefore it may be of interest to take up at this point the question raised by Böttiger and to see how he and his German contemporaries answered it. The situation is described in the above mentioned article as follows: "The Englishman forms his opinion of our literary products from a few romances of adventure and wild flights of the imagination which have been translated in London for some time by literary speculators. . . . Of our scientific and historical writings extremely few have been so fortunate as to penetrate the barriers which British self-complacency has erected."³ Many articles on this subject

¹ *Minerva*. (Berlin, 1792; Hamburg, 1792-1810) August, 1795, p. 240.

² p. 34, ff.

³ J. S. Ersch answers Böttiger's article, in the *Merkur* for December, 1797 (pp. 225-235), maintaining that there is as much proof of an appreciation for German literature on the part of Frenchmen and Englishmen as of the contrary.

are to be found in Wieland's *Merkur*; from their frequency we may gather that its editor was somewhat sensitive on the subject of English indifference to German genius. In the issue for January, 1774,¹ we read the following protest against "a rare compliment" paid by the *London Magazine* to German literature: "The English may have good reason to be proud of their Bacon, their Milton, their Dryden and Pope, their Locke and Hume and especially of their great Newton, but superiority gives no right to despise others; and it is no credit to such an enlightened nation that the Germans, who produced the man who bore the torch to their Newton,² are spoken of in their midst as a horde of barbarians, just awakened from their long sleep of ignorance and stupidity, who are beginning to try their eyes and ears, hands and feet, demeaning themselves at the same time so as to give hopes that they will eventually resemble other human beings." As an indication of the extent to which German literature is known and appreciated in England Moritz cites the announcement by a London publisher of³ "a work under the title, 'The Entertaining Museum,' or 'Complete Circulating Library,' containing not only works from all the classical English authors, but also translations of famous French, Spanish and even German novels." As the century draws near its close we find that the Germans are, on the whole, greatly encouraged over the favor with which their works are meeting in England. In a letter from London appearing in the *Merkur* for June, 1796,⁴ we read the following statement: "German literature has for some time been acquiring more followers and devotees among the British. The translation of Moritz' *Foot-tour through England* is so popular that a second edition of it has already appeared. . . . Our stories of knights and ghosts are fully in keeping with the present English taste and are eagerly translated. German dictionaries and grammars are in frequent demand." And in a similar letter a few years later⁵ we are

¹ p. 114.

² Johann Kepler.

³ *Reisen eines Deutschen in England*, etc. p. 25.

⁴ p. 198.

⁵ *Der Neue teutsche Merkur*. 1799, Vol. I (April), p. 371.

told that "the words *German literature* are now heard at the tea table and in the most fashionable gatherings more often in one hour than formerly, perhaps, in years." Archenholz finds the most conclusive proof of the conversion of the English in the protest of their authors against the rage for German literature. "But this jealousy, this learned envy, this illiberal opposition," he assures us,¹ "is powerless and does not check in the least the continually growing interest of the British in the literature and language of the Germans."

A subject of frequent comment in connection with the reception of German literature in England is the opposition which it encounters from the more pious element of the nation. German plays, especially those of Kotzebue, which were extremely popular among the English, were declared by the orthodox and strait-laced critics to be highly immoral. For a German opinion of the Englishman's attitude in this matter let us turn again to the *Merkur*.² "The book-dealer, Bell, has just issued a prospectus in which he announces the appearance, from time to time of about forty German plays in English translations. The announcement contains a statement not very flattering to German taste, to the effect that everything will be omitted from these plays that might be considered immoral, and offensive to the refined English taste. The German brood of bears will accordingly first have to be licked by British tongues!"

The eighteenth century Englishman's ignorance of the German language explains in a large measure his unfamiliarity with German literature. It is only toward the end of the century that, Germans begin to observe an awakening interest in the study of their language in England. In the eighties Wendeborn writes:³ "As yet my good native tongue is only slightly known at Oxford and Cambridge and—be it said not to the honor of the English—not highly esteemed." William Edward Mead in his *Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* gives an interesting discussion of the Englishman's ignorance of German. He says in part:⁴ "With the rarest

¹ "Die deutsche Literatur in England." *Minerva*, October, 1800, p. 107, ff.

² April, 1799. "Brief aus London," p. 372.

³ *Zustand . . . in Grossbritannien*. Vol. IV, p. 240.

⁴ p. 117.

exceptions, one of whom was Carteret, who had traveled widely in Germany, Englishmen in the eighteenth century were entirely ignorant of German. English tourists seldom knew more than a phrase or two of the language. Even a reading knowledge of German was a very rare accomplishment among Englishmen. Trained scholars like Hume, Gibbon, Robertson, and Parr were unable to use German books. Horace Walpole's acquaintance with German enabled him as late as 1788 to say no more than, 'I am told it is a fine language!' To Wendeborn is given credit for first awakening and disseminating in England an interest in the study of German.¹ This he did through the publication of two text books, *Elements of German Grammar* (1774) and *An Introduction to German Grammar* (1790). In the preface to the latter he states that there are already several German grammars in England, but he describes them as "very diffuse in etymology and very faulty in syntax." Nemnich is one of many Germans who comment on the increasing popularity of the German language in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century: "From time to time," he says,² "one meets Englishmen who really study the German language and derive some pleasure from it." In sharp contrast with this still luke-warm interest of the English in the German language stands the popularity of the English tongue in Germany, as attested—though undoubtedly in too extravagant terms—by Archenholz:³ "In the circles of polite German society, among the belles, the gallants, in fact, with whole classes of the people, scholars, artists, merchants and soldiers, the English language is beginning to replace the French."

Education in eighteenth century England receives from Germans more adverse than favorable criticism. The Englishman's aversion to changes in the existing order of things, his blind adherence to tradition, was said to give to his educational system a sadly antiquated character; so much so that Goede considers the public schools and universities of England

¹ See Wendeborn: *Erinnerungen aus seinem Leben*. Hamburg, 1813. Intro. by C. D. Ebeling, p. IV.

² *Neueste Reise durch England*, etc., p. 169.

³ *Annalen der brittischen Geschichte*. Vol. I, p. 347.

two centuries behind those of the other leading European countries.¹ On the other hand, we find frequent mention of one great advantage of the English educational system; that is, the freedom which it allows for individual development along natural lines. Wendeborn sees a close resemblance between the Englishman's ideas of education and his taste in gardens and parks: "He loves nature, he comes to her aid again and again with a helpful hand, he will not allow art to destroy any of her works. This very trait is the cause of the Englishman's attaining most nearly to the real dignity and destiny of man."² Together with this fidelity to nature Wendeborn regards the uniformity of education among all classes as a benefit to the English nation, and to this same uniformity he attributes much that is peculiar in the national character. In elaboration of this point he says:³ "That the inhabitants of this island esteem their form of government, their customs, their manners, their pleasures, so highly and look down on other nations with a reprehensible national pride often bordering on the ridiculous, is a result of their education and their schools. A native Englishman of rank who has received his education from childhood on in France, Germany or Switzerland will play the rôle of a foreigner, even against his wishes; in spite of his being British by birth, he will at least find himself less able to win the friendship and respect of his fellow countrymen, even if he escapes their positive contempt, than if—to put it paradoxically—he had followed the course of nature and become an Englishman through artificial means." Küttner is another of the numerous Germans with whom education in England finds favor on account of its conformity to nature:⁴ "Education is, on the whole, much more liberal and unconstrained than in Germany; children are not held in check to such an extent by leading-strings, but are left more to their own resources; they are not admonished, scolded and punished so much, but are allowed rather to gain wisdom from their own unhappy experiences."

¹ *England*, etc. Vol. I, p. 197.

² *Zustand*, etc. Vol. II, p. 239.

³ *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 199.

⁴ N. A. d. B. Vol. XXIV (1796), pt. I, p. 144.

As for the English universities, they were thought to be too much under the dominion of the Established Church. They afforded very thorough training in theology, but not in other fields of learning. To have the advantages of a good education in medicine no one thought of going to Oxford or Cambridge, but rather to Edinburgh or else to a foreign university, and the young Englishman who wished to learn his country's laws and earn fame in its courts of justice had to go to London to prepare himself for his profession. Wendeborn, who writes at length on the subject of education in England, is very severe in his exhaustive criticism of Oxford and Cambridge, as the following passage will indicate:¹ "Very few indeed learn anything thoroughly at these universities, and if they bring nothing with them from their preparatory school and do not study faithfully on their own account at college, they are very certain to return home entirely empty-minded. A prominent and learned man sent his grandson to Oxford and desired of him only that he should not forget in the first three years all that he had acquired at school." Furthermore, Wendeborn remarks:² "They are patterned in every respect after the old monasteries, and it is remarkable that a nation which considers itself so wise does not think of improvements, in order to do away with the useless features which every man of good sense recognizes in them [i.e., the universities], and to make of them useful institutions." Forster has similar objections: "The monastic order which prevails in the English universities has been praised in Germany as exemplary—because it is not known. The rules here are so strict that their observance is an impossibility."³ The very stress which is laid upon religion, makes of it in Forster's opinion an empty form, or even a pernicious influence. "For my part," he states, "I can not understand how young men can escape the alternative of bigotry or infidelity, when they are required here, during a period of six or eight years, to go to prayers in the chapel of their college four times a day. This *opus operatum*, of which

¹ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. IV, p. 204.

² *ibid.*, p. 262.

³ *Ansichten*, etc. *Sämmtliche Schriften*. Vol. III, p. 430.

the good effects are shown by the initials carved on the benches a few steps from the altar in the chapel of Christ Church College, must produce a spiritual dulness, once it ever becomes a custom."

But in spite of these serious short-comings of English schools and particularly of the universities, eighteenth century Germans testify without a dissenting voice to the high state of learning in England and to the superior culture of the English people as a whole. Johann Georg Zimmermann, whose opinion on this subject has especial weight on account of his own attainments as a scientist, says that "any European nation not deprived of its senses, while perhaps claiming pre-eminence in learning for itself, will certainly not fail to give second place to England."¹ And again he tells us that in all the sciences and in almost all the arts the English are as great as is possible for mere men to be, and, furthermore, that their full consciousness of their own greatness is only too evident.² A still earlier expression of opinion concerning English scholarship which is of especial interest may be taken from the diary of Haller:³ "In the sciences it seems that no country is more advanced at present than England, unless it be in jurisprudence; for the English have their own laws and do not concern themselves about those of the Romans. But in the investigation of nature, in scientific research and in everything that involves the art of measuring and the nature of substances [*die Messkunst und die Natur der Wesen*] they surpass all previous ages and all contemporary countries. The causes are: first, the wealth of the nation, a good government and the liberal rewards offered for scholarship; secondly, the reflecting and ambitious nature of this people, which carries all it undertakes, good or bad, to a high state of perfection; and, thirdly, the superior learning of English scholars." As further proof of the generous recognition given by Germans to English scholarship throughout the eighteenth century, let us take the following statement of Achenwall, written sixty years later

¹ *Vom Nationalstolze*, p. 133.

² *ibid.*, p. 263.

³ *Tagebücher*, etc., p. 132.

than the preceding:¹ "The Englishman is endowed by nature with traits that make for perfection in the sciences; profoundness and untiring energy are peculiar to him. No nation has produced greater intellects than the English, and none has done more to advance those sciences which are the greatest credit to the human mind and the most useful in ordinary life."

Taube emphasizes the excellence of English scholarship by a comparison of England's contributions to intellectual culture with those of France. In his opinion, "the light which is spread over the arts and sciences usually emanates from England. The errors which find their way into the same, come mostly from the French; not, it is true, on account of ignorance, but from superficiality and lack of thorough investigation."² In spite of the assertions of Wendeborn and numerous others to the contrary, Lichtenberg characterizes English scholars as independent and original, and in this respect he rates them higher than the scholars of his own country. This view he expresses in the following aphorisms:³ "English geniuses go in advance of the fashions, and Germans trail behind.—The German scholar keeps his books open too long, and the Englishman closes them too soon. Each, however, has his place in the world."

The charge is often brought by Germans that the English scholar is lacking in versatility. They observe that he attains a high degree of proficiency in his chosen field of knowledge, but that he seldom reaches out beyond its boundaries in order to broaden his scholarship.⁴ To refute this a German resident of London in a letter to the *Deutsches Museum*⁵ dated November 8, 1779, writes as follows: "Any one who has come into contact with English scholars or who has even looked a little into their writings, will find this to be quite

¹ *Staatsverfassung der heutigen vornehmsten Europäischen Reiche.* (1790) Pt. I, p. 311.

² *Abschilderung der engländischen Manufacturen.* Part I, p. 2, footnote.

³ *Urtheile und Bemerkungen über den Charakter verschiedener Völker. Nachtrag. Vermischte Schriften.* Vol. II, pp. 121-122.

⁴ See, for example, Volkmann's *Neueste Reisen*, Vol. I, p. 113 and Goede's *England, etc.*, Vol. III, p. 86.

⁵ 1780, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 197.

false. There is hardly a tutor at either of the universities who does not understand Greek and Latin so well that he can explain the meaning and the beauties of the different authors to his students and who does not possess at the same time a knowledge of mathematics, not only geometry and a little algebra, but also astronomy and physics. . . . Besides, no educated Englishman is a stranger to the history of his own country, to its laws and its political constitution. Of modern languages he usually understands French and often Italian." The writer of this letter maintains that a country's culture can not be judged by the number of books it produces. By this standard, Germany would take first rank; but he reminds us that "there are countries where not a great deal is written, but where culture and refinement of manners are promoted through daily intercourse, through observation and through experience gained from many objects and many places."

The general interest taken by the English in literature, art and science and the homage paid to their great men in all fields of intellectual achievement are subjects which receive the frequent attention of eighteenth century German writers on England. Moritz is positive "that the English classical authors are read, without any comparison, more than the German, who are read only by scholars and, at the most, by the middle classes, while the national authors of the English are read by the people, as is indicated, among various ways, by the innumerable editions."¹ The *Deutsches Museum* for December 1784 contains an interesting article on *Englische und deutsche Literaturliebe*,² in which we read that Captain Cook's Journey around the World has just appeared in London in a handsome edition of 2000 copies, all of which were sold within two days at 4£ 14s. each. The assertion is made that no work could have met with anything like corresponding

¹ *Reisen eines Deutschen in England*, p. 24.

² Vol. II, pt. 12, p. 532. This article is probably to be attributed to Heinrich Christian Boie, editor of the *Museum* and one of the leading exponents of English culture in eighteenth century Germany. This periodical is, in fact, more consistently pro-British than any of the others, not excepting Archenholz' *Annalen*.

success in Germany, even at a sixth of the above price. The question as to the cause of this difference between the two countries is answered as follows: "Not our poverty [is the cause], for that is taken into consideration. We are in reality not six times as poor as the British, as I have assumed, and then it must be remembered that we have thirty million people, while the British kingdom has only eleven million and that among us, consequently, in order to equal them, there would have to be three times as many friends of the muses. The only true explanation, accordingly, is our lack of interest in the sciences and literature,—our coldness and dulness for everything great and noble,—despite all boasts of enlightenment, our barbarity." Even Wendeborn is willing to allow the English some credit for the recognition they give to genius. He admits that, "generally speaking, the English public, in a certain manner, has cause to be proud of the fact that it rewards achievements in the arts and sciences more liberally than is customary among other nations."¹ Forster, too, draws a comparison between his own country and England, which is decidedly to the advantage of the latter. On the occasion of a visit to a tavern in Birmingham named in honor of Shakespeare, he exclaims:² "How admirably and advantageously is the general culture of the English shown by the homage they pay to the great men who have produced it. When will it occur to any one in Germany to give to a hotel the name of Lessing, Goethe, Schiller or Wieland?—This is by no means so insignificant a matter as might be supposed; it is in such things that the genius of a nation is manifested." Zimmerman is equally eulogistic in this regard.³ "This people, often so ruthless under the pretext of freedom, forgets hatred, enmity, sects and factions, when the occasion is presented to reward great talents. The burial place of their kings is likewise the burial place of their geniuses. The remains of an actress, which in France are relegated to a carrion-pit, are laid to rest in England beside the heads of the state. The honor which is shown in England to every great intellect has

¹ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. IV, p. 9.

² *Ansichten*, etc., p. 398.

³ *Vom Nationalstolze*, p. 265.

at all times prompted the ablest men of the kingdom to bind the scholar's palms around their coronets." It is this sentiment which is expressed so forcibly by Johann Jacob Engel in his eulogy of Lessing,¹ written shortly after the latter's death:

"Wenn er ein Teutscher nicht, wenn er ein Britte wäre,
So schlosse seinen Sarg die Gruft der Könige ein,
So würd' ein Volk, gefühlvoll für die Ehre,
Ihm öffentlich ein ewig Denkmal weihen."

¹ See Archenholz: *A Picture of England*. Vol. I, p. 142; also Erich Schmidt: *Lessing*. 2 Vols. Berlin, 1884. Vol. II, p. 773.

CHAPTER V

CUSTOMS AND MANNERS

Generally speaking, the Englishman of the eighteenth century was, as he is today, a well groomed man, always attentive to his personal appearance, always concerned to make himself as presentable as possible and frequently over-mindful of the dictates of fashion. Neatness and cleanliness of dress he considered of prime importance, and the man in England, whether native or foreigner, who was careless in this respect inevitably lowered himself as a result in the estimation of all with whom he came into contact. This fact Moritz learned to his sorrow, and he was finally led to discontinue his foot-tour of England because of the cold reception his tramp-like appearance, an unavoidable consequence of his manner of travel, won for him at the English inns. Germans who familiarized themselves to any extent with British life advised their countrymen, when in England, to give careful attention to their dress and appearance and, if possible, to provide themselves with wardrobes in keeping with the demands of English style, for the man whose attire was so peculiar as to attract attention was liable to be considered an inferior being and to find himself the frequent object of taunts and insults from the populace. As we shall see in the course of our study, the English were not credited with an excess of kindness in their treatment of the foreigner, and the latter, accordingly, found it to his advantage during his sojourn in England to act and dress as nearly as possible in the native style.

The care which the Englishman gave to his dress was not the sole cause of the favorable impression his personal appearance made on the foreigner. We shall find later on that German writers had much to say in praise of the beauty of the English-woman, and they usually agreed that the English people as a whole presented attractive physical characteristics.

Goede undertakes to give a description of the national type:¹ "The physiognomies of both sexes in England are less charming than noble and distinguished. A handsome, open forehead, frank eyes which are less fiery than clear and gentle, a nobly shaped nose and even, regular features characterize both sexes. Those distorted physiognomies, those irregularly shaped faces, those sharp, deep-set features which are so often found among other peoples are very seldom seen in England. The complexion of the men is clear and ruddy; that of the women is very beautiful, their skin is delicate, transparent and of dazzling whiteness." When we read what Berckenmeyer has to say, we wonder if this fine complexion, even in the case of men, is altogether natural. *Britain*, according to his explanation,² comes from "the old word *brit*," which means colored or painted, and came to be applied to the country because its warriors were accustomed to paint their bodies with a certain herb in order to make themselves appear more terrible to their enemy; and this means of adornment the Englishman is said never to have discarded.

The German usually compliments the Englishman on his dress and personal appearance, but in this regard Pöllnitz is an exception. He declares that "there's not a people upon the earth that set themselves off so ill as the English do, and really they had need to be as well shap'd as they are for the generality, or their dress would be insupportable."³ This is to be taken as a criticism of style rather than of carelessness in dress, for elsewhere⁴ Pöllnitz tells us that in general everybody in England is well clad and that even the beggars do not make so ragged an appearance as they do elsewhere. Moritz, after a few days in London, writes:⁵ "I have, in general, not seen such fine houses and streets as in Berlin, but everywhere handsomer people and more of them. It gives me genuine pleasure . . . to meet, almost exclusively, well dressed people of all classes, from the highest to the lowest, in the densest

¹ *England*, etc. Vol. II, pp. 260-261.

² *Neu vermehrter Curieuser Antiquarius*, p. 205.

³ *Memoirs*. Vol. V, p. 245.

⁴ *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 270.

⁵ *Reisen eines Deutschen in England*, p. 16.

crowds and to see no street-vender without white linen and scarcely a beggar who does not at least wear a clean shirt beneath his ragged clothing." According to Goede,¹ the newly arrived foreigner was so struck with the clean, attractive dress of the people he saw in the streets of English towns that he involuntarily asked whether they were not adorned for some especial occasion, only to learn that he was viewing the usual, every-day scene. The frequent allusions to the cleanliness of the English people lead us to suspect that this virtue was not quite so common on the Continent as it might have been. We learn from the *Sittengemälde von London*,² to which reference has already been made (p. 35) that "cleanliness in the highest degree is everywhere prevalent among them [the English]. It is the rule in the dwellings, as well as in the clothing, especially the linen, of all, even of the lowest class." And Küttner tells us that, while the Englishman dresses with the greatest simplicity, his linen is of the finest quality and is always immaculate and that the materials of his clothing are the very best to be had.³

The uniformity of dress that prevailed was another feature that attracted the attention of German visitors. There was nothing in England to correspond to the picturesque costumes of the German peasants, nor was there the great difference in dress between the higher and lower classes that was to be seen on the Continent. In this connection Goede says:⁴ "In England it will be impossible for the foreigner to distinguish the merchant from the lord and from the scholar; even the shop-keeper, even many workmen can mingle with the others without revealing their identity." On this point we also read in Wendeborn:⁵ "In Germany the clothing of the common man, of the artisan and the man of means varies in quality. Of all this but little is found in England. The materials which are made for the common people and for poor people are not so abundant, and few there are who will wear them. . . .

¹ *England*, etc. Vol. I, p. 4.

² *Neue Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*. Vol. LXXVII (1803), pt. I, p. 150.

³ *Beiträge zur Kenntnis . . . von Frankreich*, p. 97.

⁴ *England*, etc. Vol. II, p. 262.

⁵ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. I, p. 150.

Every one wants to wear fine clothes, and those who can not procure new garments buy discarded ones second hand, so that they may at least present a 'shabby genteel' appearance."

If we are to accept the German opinion, we must believe that no other nation in the eighteenth century was so much the slave of fashion as the English. This opinion seems to have become more prevalent toward the close of the century. Archenholz makes frequent mention of the Englishman's custom of adorning himself always according to the latest style; in 1785 he writes as follows:¹ "The English are unfortunately led away beyond all the other countries in Europe by the luxury of dress, which every day seems to increase. Twenty years ago gold and silver lace was not worn but at court and the theaters; persons elegantly attired always rode in carriages. . . . One now often meets with laced clothes; even the common people sometimes appear in embroidered vests. In general, however, the English still wear plain broad-cloth both in summer and winter, but it is of the finest kind: a common tradesman will use no other." In 1796, if we may trust this same authority,² one folly succeeded another in the world of fashion; in the winter, women's elbows were bare, but as summer approached the style required that the entire arm should be covered and that the lower part of the sleeve should be profusely adorned. In the *Göttingisches Historisches Magazin* of the year 1787³ is found an interesting article on British customs, from which we take the following account of the fashions: "Despite the fact that bag-wigs [Haarbeutel] and French styles are seen only at court, the daily attire and adornment of the young Englishman or Irishman requires at least as much time as the most magnificent dress of state. The dandies, who carry on their flirtations in the most immaculate garb, put on in the morning fresh linen and an especial suit and have their hair carefully dressed. All this is repeated towards noon, and it may be easily imagined how

¹ *A Picture of England*. Vol. II, p. 114.

² *Annalen*, etc. Vol. XIX, p. 343.

³ *Göttingisches Historisches Magazin von E. Meiners und L. T. Spittler*. 8 Vols. Hanover, 1787-91. Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 157 (Letter from Ireland. Dec. 1786).

much time is lost in the preparation of the toilette and under the hands of the hairdresser." As to the absolute sway of fashion, Goede gives testimony:¹ "It is only in England that Fashion has subjugated all classes. Youth and Old Age do homage to her; she comprises all transitory external adornments, which she produces in ever changing forms, and reigns with equal power in the remote, as in the nearer parts of the kingdom. It is remarkable how quickly and how generally Fashion effects her transformations in England."

Every visitor to a foreign land finds many customs that are new and strange to him. This was particularly true in the case of Germans who visited England a century and a half ago. So striking were the peculiarities of the British people to Archenholz that he begins his *Picture of England* with the following observations: "The island of Great Britain is so different from all the other states of Europe in the form of its government, its laws, its customs, its manners and the mode of thinking and acting adopted by its inhabitants that it seems rather to belong to some other globe than that on which we live." Elsewhere Archenholz quotes from an old English song the lines, "The highest in the world has changed to the lowest, since my old hat was new," and he declares that this statement is more applicable to the British than to any other people:² "They breakfast at noon, have dinner in the evening and supper in the morning. Women apply themselves assiduously to the arts and sciences and gentlemen of polite society to the acquisition of a knowledge of ribbons, trimmings and perfumeries. Wealthy lords manage their own estates, keep their own accounts and ponder day and night over profitable investments for their money. Merchants keep fast horses for the races, dine in taverns at five guineas each and spend their nights at games of chance. Actors and actresses teach ladies and gentlemen of rank the rules of etiquette and good form, while other lords with their ladies vie with each other in shining at private theaters, where they play comedy for the amusement of the invited comedians."

¹ *England*, etc. Vol. II, p. 263.

² *Annalen*, etc. Vol. V, p. 318.

English society struck the German as being extremely unconventional, for at home and likewise in France, where he frequently traveled, he was accustomed to a superabundance of social ceremony and was hampered in his intercourse with his fellows by innumerable fixed rules of etiquette. Like many of his other outstanding characteristics, the Englishman's neglect of ceremony was attributed to his spirit of freedom. He was said to be guided by the opinion that he need follow the dictates of good breeding only in so far as they did not conflict with his own convenience or his own inclinations. In consequence of this latitude—so Zimmermann discovers with surprise¹—"it is no harm to throw one's self back in an elbow-chair when tired of sitting upright, and you may invite your friends to eat and drink with you at all hours and all seasons, whether to breakfast, dinner or supper, or whether you have roast or boiled meat to give them." Such a disregard of convention Pöllnitz is inclined to consider a virtue, and in his comparison of the French with the English on this score the former appear at a disadvantage:² "It seems to me that the English are not the slaves of that tyrant custom, and choose to follow their genius and good sense. They don't surfeit themselves with those nothings which the French call politeness and which seem to be invented only to pass away the time. . . . To speak my mind plainly, if I were twenty years of age, I could like to become a complete Frenchman, but now that I am forty I am perfectly reconciled to the manners and customs of the English." Archenholz states³ that "a traveler, more especially if he passes immediately from France to Great Britain, in looking for that politeness at once so splendid and so trifling which he has been used to, will not fail to imagine the English rude and uncultivated; and this, merely because he does not give himself the trouble to search beyond the surface of their character." Forster seems to have been such a traveler, despite the fact that he resided long in England and, as we have already learned, was in

¹ *Vom Nationalstolze*, p. 120. (The translation of Wilcocke, p. 118, is quoted here.)

² *Memoirs*. Vol. III, p. 288 (Whatley's translation).

³ *A Picture of England*. Vol. I, p. 52.

general quite an ardent admirer of English culture. He gives an account of society in London, from which we quote the following, not very flattering statements:¹ "Everywhere social intercourse is stiff and awkward. Before dinner people sit motionless in their chairs, have little to say, cross their arms and appear bored till dinner is announced. Then the women flock into the dining-room like cranes; nobody escorts them. Drinks are ordered as at a tavern, or small drinking parties are formed, and after dinner toasts are drunk. . . . Only in the West End are napkins in use; in the City they are never seen. Small dishes are found only in the aristocratic district; in the eastern part they eat all sorts of things from the same plate." Quite different is the view of English society given by Wendeborn. The German clergyman frequently voices his high regard for the Englishman as a social being, and the social life of London is altogether to his liking:² "There is just as much cheerfulness and good humor in English social gatherings as in those of any other nation. Yet to my great pleasure I have observed the absence here of that stiffness, that effort to appear clever, that spirit of contention which is so annoying in other countries. . . . The conversation of an Englishman is by no means so animated, so loud, so ingratiating as that of some other peoples, but to me it is the most pleasing of all. If it is true that an Englishman talks less, still, he often says more in ten words than others do in a hundred. If he assures me with a word and a clasp of the hand that he is my friend, I believe him on his single word more readily than on a hundred wretched, trivial compliments."

While the Englishman usually appeared, in the eyes of foreigners, to be of a serious, even of a melancholy temperament, he has always been known to be fond of all kinds of amusements and to enter into his play with the same enthusiasm that carries him to success in his work. Toze, whose statements—since he was never in England himself—may be taken as representing the general impression that was current

¹ *Ansichten*, etc., p. 376.

² *Zustand*, etc. Vol. II, pp. 284-285.

on the continent, attributes to the English a great fondness for diversions and entertainments of all kinds, including¹ "plays, operas, concerts, balls, masquerades, assemblies, routs, clubs and horse races."

Since the amusements of a nation are among those customs that undergo decided changes in the course of time, we must bear in mind that Pöllnitz is describing conditions as he found them in the early part of the century [1729-1733], when we read the following extract from his *Memoirs*:² "The nobility, the citizens and the lower rank of the people have, all, their recreations; and whereas in other countries the rich alone seem to have a right to pleasures, the English nation has diversions for all classes, and the mechanic, as well as his lordship, knows how to make himself merry when he has done his day's work. The English are very much for shows. Battles, especially, of what nature soever, are an agreeable amusement to them, and of these they have all kinds. Sometimes they engage bulls with other beasts, and at other times they have cock-fighting. . . . The battles of animals are not the only ones to be seen in England, there being very often combats of gladiators, when the wretches for pitiful lucre fight with one another at swords and very often wound each other cruelly. The English delight very much in this sort of prize-fighting; they shout loud applauses when either of the two wounds his antagonist. And when the battle is over, the two combatants shake hands and make each other a low bow to show they don't bear one another malice."

Some of the amusements of the English were attended with such cruelty as to shock the foreigner, who often received the impression that the nation was lacking in sympathetic feelings. Soon after his arrival in England in 1767 Wendeborn had occasion to revise his opinion of the Englishman on account of the horse races and bull fights which he witnessed in Northampton. Nor did a parliamentary election, characterized by "bribes, party spirit, drunkenness and fighting," find

¹ Toze, M. E. *The Present State of Europe*, translated from the German by Thos. Nugent. 3 Vols. London, 1770. Vol. II, p. 205.

² Vol. V, p. 246, ff. (Whatley's translation).

greater favor with him. "All these things," he writes in his *Memoirs*,¹ "were very striking to me and my moral feelings were so often wounded by them that I was compelled to lower not a little the exalted conception of the Englishman's character which I had brought with me across the sea." Wendeborn points out many evident traces of old Roman and Saxon customs in the England of his day, and he declares that he is often astonished to find so many analogies between Roman and English history. "I only wish," he says in this connection,² "that I did not have to add that the character of the Romans under the triumvirates is quite applicable to the English of today. It has long since been observed that the English nation inherits its fondness for all kinds of spectacles from the Romans; and even if the present shows are free from the horrors which even the Roman woman could witness in cold blood, yet the days on which criminals are hanged at Tyburn are a sort of holiday for the London populace, and thousands of spectators of both sexes see a half dozen unhappy fellow-creatures deprived of existence by means of a rope, just as cheerfully as Roman citizens of all classes saw the gladiators break each other's necks in their combats."

Toward the end of the century we find frequent statements to the effect that the Englishman's ideas of enjoyment are undergoing a change. Boxing has taken the place of the gladiatorial combats described by Pöllnitz, but this sport itself appears none too civilized to German observers.³ Küttner finds that the taste for horse-racing is by no means so strong as it once was, particularly among the higher classes,⁴ and Archenholz states⁵ that "the nation already begins to be less attached to hunting and to feel a greater passion for the fine arts and everything that can add to the pleasures of a sensuous life." The Englishman's enthusiasm for all kinds of games of chance, for speculation and wagers, was so great

¹ *Erinnerungen*, p. 83.

² *Zustand*, etc. Vol. II, p. 249.

³ See, for example, Jos. Albr. v. Ittner's *Schriften*. 3 Vols. Freiburg, 1827-28. Vol. II. "Boxerei," p. 321, ff.

⁴ A. d. B., Vol. CX (1792), pt. 1, p. 216.

⁵ *Picture of England*. Vol. I, p. 127.

that in the eyes of our German friends, it amounted to a serious vice. According again to Archenholz,¹ "a love of what is singular and extraordinary occasions that spirit of gambling which is so general in England. . . . Such is the passion of the English for play that every dispute is generally decided by a bet."

No other form of diversion had a greater appeal for the eighteenth century Englishman than theater-going, and the theater was to foreign visitors one of the most interesting institutions of the country. "As to plays," writes Pöllnitz,² "the English are fond of 'em and have more of them than any other nation." In his praise of English theaters Archenholz is especially enthusiastic; in them he finds united³ "all the efforts of art, the elegance of composition and the flights of the imagination." Wendeborn considers no place better than the theater for studying the national character:⁴ "Aristocrats and plebeians are present, and the latter are bent on demonstrating that they consider themselves quite as good as the former. The upper gallery of the play-house, which the populace occupies, usually governs the entire house, and the actors must be guided largely by their commands and their humor."

It has already been stated that German comedies were frequently shocking to the Englishman's sense of propriety and were presented on the English stage only in carefully expurgated versions. In connection with this it is interesting to note that Germans could also find English plays shocking. This was the case with Forster:⁵ "The character of the English combines good-nature, sentimentality, roughness and sensuousness. Hence there is in their plays so much excellence, ingenuousness, together with so much indecency. The French have more regard for the proprieties and say nothing in public which a lady of refinement might not repeat."

The behavior of the audience in English theaters must have

¹ *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 142.

² *Memoirs*. Vol. III, p. 299.

³ *Picture of England*. Vol. II, p. 160.

⁴ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. IV, p. 437.

⁵ *Ansichten*, etc., p. 363.

been frequently quite as diverting as the play itself. Moritz complains¹ of the disturbances he experienced and refers particularly to the shouting and the hurling of oranges and other missiles from the galleries. Ill-bred in the extreme was the English theater public, according to the characterization of Schütz.² The occupants of the gallery were not satisfied with throwing orange peels into the parterre and the boxes, but frequently threw glasses of water as well, injuring the spectators and ruining their clothing; and Küttner deplored the absence of the gendarmes who kept order in French theaters,³ especially when he was annoyed by drunken men, whom no one attempted to have removed, and by coarse, ill-bred people, who had no regard for decency and who frequently put an end to the play by their quarrelling, fighting and shouting.

Since theater-going in England was attended with such difficulties, it was fortunate that the plays themselves and the efforts of the actors found favor with foreign as well as native spectators. In fact, adverse criticism such as appears in an anonymous letter to the *Merkur* for April, 1785, is quite rare.⁴ "I must confess that I have found no masters of declamation on the English stage. They usually have a dragging accent at the end of the verse or sentence and always exaggerate in the pathetic parts. Their action is stiff and monotonous, and decorations and costumes are anything but excellent." Count Frederick von Kiemansegg, who, in company with his brother, went to England in 1761 to attend the coronation of King George III and Queen Sophia Charlotte, Princess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, represents more accurately the prevailing German opinion of the English theater:⁵ "I certainly believe that there is no stage in the world which equals the English in its choice of actors; at Drury Lane, for

¹ *Reisen in England*, p. 42.

² N. A. d. B., Vol. V (1793), pt. 1, p. 279.

³ *Beiträge zur Kenntnis . . . von Frankreich*, p. 96.

⁴ p. 190.

⁵ *Diary of a Journey to England in the years 1761-62*, trans. from the ms. by Countess Kiemansegg. London, New York and Bombay. 1902. p. 195.

Count Kiemansegg was a first cousin of Sir William Howe, who was in command of the British forces in America, 1776-1778.

example, you have an impression that every actor has been expressly made for his part. Garrick is, however, the only one who can delineate every character with equal skill, from the philosopher down to the fool, from the king to the peasant, and who appears to put on a different face with each character." Elsewhere¹ Kielmansegge refers to the English stage as one "which has no superior in the world, and on which everything is produced with the highest degree of truth."

The praise given by German visitors to certain actors is very generous. Of this, as might be expected, the famous Shakespeare player, Garrick, receives the largest share. Lichtenberg's *Briefe aus England*² contain a lengthy and interesting discussion of the personality and art of this great genius, as well as of several other actors, including Mrs. Abington and the Barrys. The Germans who saw Garrick agreed that his acting was unsurpassed.³ From the acting of Mrs. Siddons Hassel derived a new conception of dramatic art; he declared⁴ that it was well worth a trip to England to see with what sublimity, nobility and delicacy this actress represented the emotions of joy and sorrow. In his praise of Kemble Forster is less extravagant, but the dignity of this actor and of English actors in general in serious rôles he finds very commendable. He gives an interesting explanation of the English actor's superiority in parts requiring dignity of bearing:⁵ "This dignity, this loftiness in the rôles of kings and heroes I have never seen on the German stage, because here the action in such parts is not natural enough, or, perhaps, is too natural. I am inclined to believe that the familiarity of intercourse among people of all classes in England, and the nobility which is so apparent here in the culture and character even of the lowest classes—however much it is mixed with narrow-mindedness and ignorance of certain subjects—naturally ennoble the actor."

¹ *ibid.*, p. 222.

² *Gedanken, Satiren, Fragmente*. 2 Vols. Jena, 1907. Vol. II, p. 72 ff. These letters were addressed to Boie and first appeared in the *Deutsches Museum* in 1776 and 1778.

³ See, for instance, Wendeborn: *Zustand*, etc. Vol. IV, p. 456.

⁴ N. A. d. B. (1793). Vol. II, pt. 2, p. 323.

⁵ *Ansichten*, etc., p. 365.

Wendeborn and Goede give it as the general opinion that the English take more interest in tragedy than in comedy and that their actors appear to better advantage in serious than in lighter rôles.¹ This was by no means the view of all Germans who visited England, and Wendeborn himself states that this condition seems to have changed, since three times as many comedies as tragedies were being written and played toward the close of the century. To Baron Bielfeld English comedy was more pleasing than English tragedy, as appears from the following:² "The first time I was at an English tragedy the action of the performers appeared to me quite extravagant, and the sound of their voices seemed in my ears like frightful howlings: and though I still find their manner in general *outrée*, yet it does not shock me as at first; I sometimes discover a truth and always an extraordinary power, which, in the most pathetic parts of the piece, does not fail to have great effect. . . . The English comedy is my delight. I there find a vivacity and a resemblance of nature that is admirable." With this last opinion Uffenbach is in hearty agreement:³ "As for English comedies, I must confess that they are incomparable and that the English represent in a very natural way their personages and passions."

An institution that invariably won the admiration of German visitors was the English home, and the family life of the nation was held to be little short of ideal. One of the Englishman's chief aims was the establishment of a comfortable domicile, and especially gratifying did he find it, if he could own even a modest estate in the country. Even in Ireland, according to Küttner,⁴ such country seats were much more numerous than in France or Germany, and in England they were so general that "many clergymen, physicians, small merchants, and, in short, citizens of all kinds, had their country places." We have already seen that the external appearance of the houses did not appeal to the German visitor,

¹ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. IV., p. 438; *England*, etc. Vol. III, p. 222, p. 252.

² *Letters*. Vol. IV, p. 64.

³ *Merkwürdige Reisen*. Vol. II, p. 443.

⁴ *Beiträge zur Kenntnis . . . von Frankreich*, p. 241.

but once he had entered an English home, his impressions were altogether more favorable. Büschel found the interior of the houses to be much neater and more attractive in England than in his own country. "In regard to the arrangement and decoration of the rooms," he writes,¹ "English women rival those of every other nation. The commonest handicraftsman has in addition to his work-room at least one room in which he receives strangers and in which nothing is to be seen that suggests his trade."

The home life of the English is strongly eulogized by Goede; he finds here one of the important points of England's superiority over France. "Travelers have often observed," he writes,² "that the English present their most attractive side in their domestic life and that they cultivate all family relations with great tenderness and noble artlessness. The English believe that they owe this advantage to the female sex, whose fine feeling, whose delicate sense of domesticity casts charm and serenity over their family life."

The mutual relations of parent and child were usually described as admirable. We have it on the rather doubtful authority of Berckenmeyer³ that children had such great respect as to fall frequently upon their knees before their parents, and to beg of them every morning and every evening a blessing. The parents' side of the case is presented somewhat more reliably by Moritz:⁴ "Even those of low rank seem to be very kind and indulgent toward their children and not to stifle their spirit by beating them and scolding them so much as is done among the populace in Germany. The children must learn very early to respect themselves, while in Germany the parents among the lower classes rear their children to the very same slavery under which they themselves groan." The foreigner observed that the relations in which parents and children lived showed more refinement than was usually the case in other countries. Although the children were very respectful, they were never seen to approach their parents in

¹ *Neue Reisen*, p. 208.

² *England*, etc. Vol. II, p. 292.

³ *Neuvermehrter Curiöser Antiquarius*, p. 211.

⁴ *Reisen . . . in England*, p. 49.

a shy, frightened manner. In general the English family in its domestic relations appeared neither as sentimental on the one hand nor as cold and indifferent on the other as that of other nationalities. A clear insight into this aspect of the English character is obtained from the following view of Goede:¹ "Since family life in general is looked on in England as a magic circle which embraces all earthly happiness, parents have a particularly high regard for their children. But Englishmen abhor the appearance of sentimentality. With a sentimental Frenchman every other word is *heart*. In England I have heard only anatomists, clergymen and actors speak of the human heart; but the judgment of all who have had opportunity to observe the English people for any length of time is that the impulses of tender affection, intimate friendship and touching gratitude penetrate the hearts of Englishmen with a vigor and warmth that permeates the whole being. The outward control of the feelings is among Englishmen a rule of good breeding which they impart to their children from early youth."

In Pöllnitz' day a visit to an English home was all the more pleasant on account of a practice, later discontinued, of which he writes with some enthusiasm:² "There's one custom established in these houses which, to be sure, you would not dislike, viz., that at the first time of a man's introduction to a family, he salutes the mistress of the house with a kiss, which tho' but a very modest one, 'tis a pleasure to see a colour come into the lady's cheeks, as if they had committed a fault." That this was not an innovation of the eighteenth century, but rather a waning custom may be deduced from a letter which Erasmus of Rotterdam wrote from England in 1499 to his friend Faustus Andrelinus, an Italian poet, urging him to forget his gout and melancholy and come to England:³ "for here," the letter runs, "girls with the faces of angels are so

¹ *England*, etc. Vol. I, p. 206.

² *Memoirs*. Vol. III, p. 297. The atrocious character of the English in this passage is a significant commentary on the merits of eighteenth century English versions of German works.

³ *Opus Epistolarum* Des. Erasmi Roterodami. 3 Vols. Oxford, 1906-13. Vol. I, p. 238.

kind and gracious that you would prefer them to all your muses. Wherever you go you are received by all with kisses; when you take your leave, you are dismissed with kisses; you return, the kisses are repeated. They come to visit you, kisses again; they leave you, kisses all around. Should you meet each other anywhere, kisses in rich profusion; in short, wherever you go or stay, there's nothing but kisses."¹

Regarding British hospitality there is no scarcity of German comment. That the English have always found it their chief delight to entertain their own friends and kinsmen, to keep open house to their own circle, is well known; but it is the reception which an outsider might expect at their hands that concerns us chiefly here. There is no doubt as to the general opinion on the Continent; it was that the English were none too hospitable toward foreigners. But the writings of the majority of the Germans who visited England and came into close contact with the English people undoubtedly tended to remove this impression from the minds of their countrymen.

Since Moritz seems to have fared worse than any of the others, we will let him speak first. He relates the difficulties he experienced at a number of inns, among them, one in the vicinity of Oxford:² "Finally I ordered a pitcher of beer, which I obtained for spot cash, but a piece of bread, for which I should likewise have been glad to pay, was refused me. Such an astonishing lack of hospitality I had certainly not expected at an English inn. But I wished to try everything possible, in order to see how far the incivility of these people would go. I requested, accordingly, that they allow me to sleep on a bench and give me shelter, offering to pay as much as for a bed, for I was so tired that I could not possibly go farther. But while I was still making this proposal, the door was slammed in my face." An anonymous German writer was not long in explaining the cause of Moritz' troubles.³

¹ Just when this custom died out has not been ascertained. As late as 1783, at any rate, Büschel (*Neue Reisen*, etc. p. 230) could speak of being "received and dismissed by a beautiful lady with a kiss" as quite the usual thing.

² *Reisen . . . in England*, p. 89.

³ *Anmerkungen und Erinnerungen über Herrn Prof. Moritzens Briefe aus England von einem Deutschen, der auch in England gewesen ist. Allgemeine Literaturzeitung.* 1785, Vol. I, No. 64, p. 267.

In the first place, he traveled on foot, which in itself was no recommendation, and then he was taken for a Dutchman or a Frenchman, and, therefore, a political enemy. No other Europeans were known to the ordinary Englishman, and not to one in ten would it occur that Moritz was of German nationality.

The other side of the case is presented by Büschel, whose purpose in his *Neue Reisen eines Deutschen nach und in England im Jahre 1783* was to correct and supplement some impressions given by Moritz. After a number of little excursions into the country near London, Büschel writes:¹ "Never shall I be able to praise enough the hospitality of the Englishmen, who entertained me, although I had only recently become acquainted with them, nor their kindness and attentiveness to me." Baron Bielfeld declares that the continental impression of English lack of hospitality is based on conditions prevailing only in London. "But go into the country," he advises his friend,² "and they will give you a reception that is equally polite and hearty; they will load you with civilities and favors, and on your departure will furnish you with letters of recommendation to their friends dispersed over all England; these will receive you equally well and will procure you new acquaintance. So that a stranger who is in any degree amiable, and known to be a man of character, may travel with infinite pleasure over all England; like a ball that is sent from one player to another." We can count on Archenholz to sing the praises of the English whenever possible; he does not fail them in this instance, for among many similar statements from his pen we read the following in his *Annalen der Britischen Geschichte*:³ "The *émigrés* [who went to England after the French Revolution] gave to the English an opportunity to show their beneficence and hospitality. These unfortunate creatures come in swarms and, almost always, totally indigent. They were succored with praise-worthy zeal; on all sides subscriptions were started, to which private citizens contributed fifty, even a hundred pounds sterling. The old

¹ *Neue Reisen*, p. 151.

² *Letters*. Vol. IV, p. 102.

³ Vol. IX, p. 405.

national hatred, the difference in religion and beliefs was forgotten and only the misery of the exiles was considered.”¹ On this point Forster gives an interesting discussion, from which we learn that the English prided themselves on their hospitality and called their country the most hospitable in the world, but that foreigners, on the other hand, held a different view, due, to some extent, at least, to a misunderstanding of the unfamiliar customs in London. Frequently it occurred that an Englishman, who had been showered with courtesies when traveling on the Continent, would discharge his obligations to his foreign host, when the latter visited England, by inviting him to dinner at a hotel, allowing the guest to pay for his own meal.² The Englishman's apparently perverted conception of hospitality struck Forster at first as absurd, but in the course of time he came to regard the matter in a different light, due, as he states,³ to the following considerations: “In the first place, it is very literally true of the inhabitants in the country, at least, that they lavish hospitality on foreigners who are recommended to them. In the second place, it is more customary in London than elsewhere to dine at a hotel, since so many do not keep their own house there, but go, year in, year out, to a public inn for their meals. In the third place, many feel that they are allowing their guest more freedom when they take him to a table where he can order what he chooses. . . . Finally, even in London it is frequently the case that foreigners are entertained in the homes of their acquaintances. . . . But most important of all . . . is the condition represented by the saying, ‘In England money will buy anything you want.’ Beautiful hospitality! I said, when I heard this expression for the first time, and a thousand foreigners to one will be tempted to make the same exclamation. I am glad to confess

¹ That the hatred existing between the English people and the French refugees was very bitter despite these instances of generosity, is brought out in letters from London to the *Merkur*. See, for instance, the issues of this periodical for September, 1796 (p. 90), and November, 1796 (p. 319).

² Bielfeld, as well as Forster, writes of the Englishman's disinclination to return the hospitality of foreigners. See his *Letters*. Vol. IV, p. 202.

³ *Ansichten*, etc., p. 377, ff.

that I no longer hold in such slight regard this hospitality which secures to everyone in return for his money all that he can desire for his comfort and pleasure. It is not a small matter that the foreigner, the tourist, the customer who wishes to purchase something in a store, is received in a kind and obliging manner. And such attention is the general rule in England."¹

A consideration of the hospitality accorded to the occasional German tourist in England brings us to the broader question of the Englishman's general attitude toward the foreigner and toward everything that had its origin outside of Great Britain. On this subject there is available an embarrassing wealth of material; and as British provincialism and blindness to the merits of other nations was to the German of the eighteenth century one of the most striking national traits, this aspect of the national character will be discussed at some length. That the British people were more provincial than their neighbors on the Continent is not open to doubt. At a time when travel was comparatively uncommon and the exchange of ideas was attended with serious difficulties, even in the case of nations which were disposed to familiarize themselves with the thoughts and achievements of other countries, the insular situation, in itself, of the British did much to develop and maintain among them the popular impression that they had nothing to learn from the foreigner and that their own civilization was in every respect superior

¹From Fontane we get the impression that at one time foreigners were cordially received into English homes, but that after the middle of the nineteenth century a great change had taken place: "Old England's hospitality is now no more than a phrase, at best the exception. It lives in the old statutes, but has died in the hearts. The country is open, but the homes are closed. From time to time I receive letters in which the phrase *our English hospitable house* occurs in every other line; but the otherwise doubtful assurance of this hospitality is always accompanied by regrets that, for one reason or another, it is impossible at the time for the writer to entertain his friends. . . . The hospitality of Old England is dead, and he has double cause to regret it, who, like myself, in former years, has had the privilege of coming to know in its fullest bloom this charming trait in the national character of the English." (*Aus England und Schottland*. Berlin, 1900. p. 181.)

to that of other countries.¹ In this connection William Edward Mead writes in his *Grand Tour*:² "All in all, perhaps the most striking characteristic of the ordinary run of English travelers was their insularity and unreadiness to admit the excellence of anything that was unfamiliar. Even in our time the discriminating Walter Bagehot has observed that there is nothing that the average Englishman dreads so much as the pain of a new idea. This trait was far more marked a century and a half ago and appeared at every turn. The English carried their nationality everywhere with them; and their habits and standards were in sharp contrast with those of the Continent. . . . He [the Englishman] was forever vaunting the superiority of his native land and displaying his contempt for those who had the misfortune to be born elsewhere."

From almost any German who discussed at all fully the character and customs of the British we might obtain testimony to this effect, but we will hear from only a few. Volkmann, though a great admirer of the English, clearly recognized this shortcoming:³ "A general trait in their character is their national pride, and thence it comes that not only on their extensive travels do they view with scorn other nations and whatever they encounter abroad, but they also manifest contempt toward foreigners who visit their country." While Count Kielmansegge enjoyed to the utmost his season in London society, he did not fail to note the slight recognition that a visitor from abroad received there:⁴ "A foreigner has no rank at all in England, therefore at Court and on other festive occasions, where they dance according to rank, those

¹ Hagedorn, who visited England in 1729, recognized this British failing; he refers to it in the satirical poem "*Lob unserer Zeiten*" (*Poetische Werke*. 3 pts. in 3 Vols. Hamburg, 1769. Pt. III, p. 159), in which he states throughout precisely the opposite of what he means:

"Der Britte, der die Fremden schätzt,
Will einem jeden sich verbinden;
Der stille Franzmann übersetzt,
Wir muntern Deutschen, wir erfinden."

² p. 124.

³ *Neueste Reisen*. Vol. I, p. 31.

⁴ *Diary*, p. 283.

gentlemen who are not lords and baronets, and who wish to dance, are not called up until after all the lords, and just as the leader of the dance pleases." Goede in attributing the Englishman's lack of appreciation of other nations to his ignorance of them, is undoubtedly correct:¹ "Among no other European people, perhaps, the French excepted, is the knowledge of foreign countries so neglected as among the English. They are heard to express daily the strangest opinions of the rest of the world. Especially are they at a loss as to what they are to make of Germany." Klinger adds his testimony against England to that of his compatriots:² "The Englishman believes that nothing is beyond him, that he is entitled to everything [ihn kleide alles, er habe zu allem Recht]; he scorns what he does not possess and what is beyond his reach." And Wendeborn in his voluminous work on England finds frequent occasion to refer to the provincialism of the country, as, for instance, when he tells us³ that "traveled Englishmen are very well acquainted with other countries, although even among them there are striking exceptions; but the masses of the people, even the better educated, usually know as little about the neighboring countries as about the interior of Africa." Elsewhere Wendeborn gives the following account of the treatment of foreigners in London:⁴ "They are not only begrudged their good fortune, if they have it, and looked down upon with a jealous national pride, but the instances are frequent enough where they might reasonably complain of oppression. If the reception of Englishmen in foreign countries is compared with that of foreigners in London, who really render great services to England, a just and unbiased judge might, out of genuine pity, shrug his shoulders over British freedom, generosity and nobility of sentiment." What Zimmermann says of the Englishman's opinion of himself and of others is of such interest that it deserves to be quoted at length:⁵ "The English themselves confess that they inherit

¹ *England*, etc. Vol. II, p. 283.

² *Betrachtungen und Gedanken. Sämmtliche Werke.* Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1842. Vol. XI, p. 270.

³ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. IV, p. 118.

⁴ *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 244.

⁵ *Vom Nationalstolze*, pp. 45-59.

from their ancestors an irrational prejudice against all nations under the sun. An Englishman who is engaged in a quarrel with a foreigner always begins by throwing his antagonist's native land up to him by means of some abusive nick-name. He will say, You are a French tattler, an Italian ape, a Dutch ox, a German hog. . . . All nations of Europe are despised by the sleek, pudding-eating, beer-drinking Englishman. The hunter in Yorkshire believes he is lord of the whole earth for in Yorkshire he is lord of all foxes." Furthermore in the Englishman's opinion "the Frenchman is polite, witty, cultured, proud, but at the same time a slave and a starveling, for his time, his purse, his arms belong not to him, but to his king. The Italian possesses no freedom, no ethics, no religion. The Spaniard is brave, God-fearing, very jealous of his honor, but poor and oppressed; and although he boasts that the sun never rises nor sets outside of Spanish territory, still, he will never be able to boast justly of his freedom, science, arts, manufacture, trade and commerce. The Portuguese is likewise a slave, ignorant and superstitious. The German is continually involved in war or in healing the wounds of war." In short, Zimmermann concludes, "all nations of the earth are found wanting when the Englishman weighs them in the balance with himself."

Of course the chief object of English antipathy was France. Haller comments¹ on how utterly Englishmen despise the French, and in this connection he expresses the belief that the achievements of the English would be much greater, were it not that their exalted opinion of their own land prevented them from seeing the merits of other countries. "No people on earth," according again to Zimmermann,² "despises and hates another people more than the English do the French; any foreigner, no matter what his nationality, who walks in London dressed otherwise than in English clothes, is always running the risk of getting smeared with mud on account of being taken for a Frenchman." It was observed by many Germans that the Englishman's hatred of the French became

¹ *Tagebücher seiner Reisen*, p. 133.

² *Vom Nationalstolze*, p. 177.

gradually less intense toward the end of the century, particularly after the Revolution. From Archenholz we have it that¹ "the English populace have in general the greatest hatred that can be imagined to the whole French nation. Of late years, however, this prejudice seems to be entirely vanished from the better sort, who now think the language of that finished people a necessary part of their children's education." And Küttner likewise notes a change in this attitude:² "The antipathy which formerly prevailed between French and English underwent a marked change even long before the Revolution; in the cultured classes and among the great it was never very pronounced. . . . The Frenchman has a certain respect for the English and the Englishman hates France, the country, as his rival, but is just as indifferent toward the Frenchman, the man, as toward the individuals of every other country."

While the above quotations undoubtedly represent the opinion of the majority of the Germans who came into contact with the English, we find at the same time frequent expression of a somewhat more favorable view of the Englishman's attitude toward the foreigner. Lichtenberg, who was received in England with unusual warmth, writes in his diary:³ "Near Ingatestone we passed through a village where a fair was being held, and when the postillion stopped before a house, our coach was immediately surrounded by more than a hundred boys who enjoyed themselves at our expense, pointing out first one and then another of us and saying: *look, there is a bullock*. I hardly know how to put it, but there is a sort of good-natured coarseness among these people, which is very different from the coarseness of my native land, where the populace, to be sure, concerns itself about strangers less than in England; but when it once makes up its mind to take the trouble, there is no escape." And in a letter to Heyne Lichtenberg says of such mobs:⁴ "I think a troop of

¹ *Picture of England*. Vol. II, p. 154.

² *Beiträge zur Kenntnis . . . von Frankreich*, pp. 252-253.

³ *Bruchstücke aus dem Tagebuch von der Reise nach England*. *Vermischte Schriften*. Vol. III, p. 274.

⁴ April 17, 1770—*Briefe*, Vol. I, p. 7.

malicious [German] students is much more dangerous than ten thousand of these people; against the former no sort of strategy is a protection, while an English suit of clothes and a little dissimulation renders everyone safe here." The opinion of Pöllnitz is still more favorable to the English in this regard.¹ "I don't think that the ministers of this country or the nobility are so haughty as they are represented in our country, and have reason to think that they who say the English are not civil to foreigners, have not been very conversant with 'em. 'Tis true, they are not so engaging as the French, but when a man is known among them, gives in to their ways and courts their favor, in short they are, methinks, as courteous and civil as any other people in the world." Another partisan of the English in this discussion is Taube,² who maintained that refugees from the Spanish Netherlands, France and Germany were hospitably received in England and that of all the other foreigners who went to England one half were vagrants, fortune-seekers and gamblers who were undesirable citizens at home, and most of the remaining half were artisans, factory hands and others whom need drove from their own country and who, through ignorance of the language and customs, fell into worse straits and frequently into evil ways in England. It would be a wonder, Taube holds, if such foreigners were not held in contempt.

On the occasion of his second visit to England, after an absence of more than ten years, Forster wrote:³ "It seems to me that the ordinary man has become somewhat more polite in his speech and that he is more tolerant of foreign dress, foreign customs and languages, when he is confronted by them in the public streets. This improvement is undoubtedly a consequence of the general reading of newspapers in England⁴ and a proof of the mildness of the real character of the English-

¹ *Memoirs*. Vol. III, p. 286 (Here, again, the translator, Whatley, shows that he is no expert at his task).

² *Abschilderung der englischen Manufacturen*, etc. Pt. I, p. 5.

³ *Ansichten*, p. 381.

⁴ To the German visitor the great number of newspapers published and read in England was always striking. See, for instance, A. d. B., Vol. LXXI (1787), pt. I, p. 7; Wendeborn's *Zustand*, etc. Vol. II, pp. 114-116.

man, who, in the end, always gives an ear to reason, however loudly his prejudices, his evil tendencies and his passions at times argue against it." Even in these and all similar statements in defense of the English, however, we plainly perceive a recognition of their provincialism, their complacency and their lack of appreciation of other nations. Lichtenberg, for instance, acknowledges the presence of these traits when he repeats the frequent suggestion to foreign travelers in England that, in order to avoid unpleasant experiences, they should, in so far as possible, impersonate the Britisher, and Pöllnitz, when he states that foreigners must give in to the ways of the British and court their favor in order to make themselves welcome guests, simply admits the fact which he is attempting to deny.

CHAPTER VI

THE BRITISH CHARACTER

In attempting to arrive at the German's conception of the Englishman as a type we are confronted with serious difficulties. Nearly all German writers who visited England, as well as many who did not, recorded their impressions of the national character. Some of these impressions assume the proportions of complete portraits, others are mere outlines; some, even from those who knew the Englishman in his own home, present little more than the general continental view, while others, as for instance, Wendeborn's,¹ are the outcome of close personal observation. It is difficult enough to form an accurate estimate of the character of an individual; to form even an approximately accurate estimate of the character of a nation is a still more difficult task. The eighteenth century German undoubtedly met with greater difficulty in his study of the British character than in that of any other European nationality; for in Great Britain men were not all made after one pattern to the same extent as in other countries. The political freedom which they enjoyed led to the development of a greater variety of types and made it possible for every one to leave off disguise and dissimulation and to appear as he really was. But despite these considerations it is believed that a careful examination of our sources will lead to a fairly definite conception of what the German thought of the Englishman as an individual. In this part of our study a certain amount of repetition seems unavoidable; for in the institutions and customs of the nation, which have already been considered, the character of the people is clearly reflected. It is hoped, however, that these repetitions will be welcomed as throwing additional light on German opinion of England and as bringing out all the more definitely the German conception of the English character.

¹ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. II, pp. 234-316.

We shall first present a few of the more interesting general characterizations and then take up in some detail those traits which, in the eyes of German observers, most truly typified the English. For the sake of comparison let us hear an opinion of the sixteenth century from a certain Hentzner, who made the tour of England in 1598 as the traveling companion of a young German nobleman:¹ "The English are serious, like the Germans; lovers of shew, liking to be followed wherever they go by whole troops of servants. . . . They excel in dancing and music, for they are active and lively, though of a thicker make than the French. They cut their hair close on the middle of the head, letting it grow on either side; they are good sailors and better pirates, cunning, treacherous and thievish; . . . hawking is the general sport of the gentry; they are more polite in eating than the French, devouring less bread, but more meat, which they roast in perfection; they put a great deal of sugar in their drink; their beds are covered with tapestry, even those of farmers. . . . They are powerful in the field, successful against their enemies, impatient of anything like slavery; vastly fond of great noises that fill the ear, such as the firing of cannon, drums and the ringing of bells, so that it is common for a number of them that have got a glass in their heads to go up into some belfry and ring the bells for hours together for the sake of exercise. If they see a foreigner very well made, or particularly handsome, they will say, 'It is a pity he is not an Englishman.'" From the foregoing it is evident that certain dominant qualities of the eighteenth century Englishman were equally conspicuous two hundred years earlier.

For his *Curieuse Antiquarius* Berckenmeyer claims no originality, but confesses in the preface that it is compiled in part from accredited writers and in part also from the observations made by some friends during their travels. As is clear from previous references to this work, its author was the veriest dilettante in his study of nationalities, but his statements are of some interest in that they present certain popular

¹ *Travels in England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, translated (from the Latin) by Horace, late Earl of Oxford. London, 1797. p. 63.

conceptions current in Germany. Among his generalizations are the following:¹ In temperament the Frenchman is jocular, the German affable, the Italian grave and the Englishman moody; in counsel the Frenchman is quick, the German slow and serious, the Italian sagacious and the Englishman courageous; in enterprise the Frenchman is like an eagle, the German a bear, the Italian a fox, and the Englishman a lion; in service the Frenchman is faithful, the German easy-going [bequem], the Italian dutiful and the Englishman servile; in religion the Frenchman is zealous, the German fervent, the Italian given over to ceremony, and the Englishman devout. Three nations are said to be especially addicted to drink and feasting; of these Josephus Scaliger composed the following epigram: *Tres sunt convivae: Germanus, Flander et Anglus. Dic quis edat melius, quis meliusve bibat? Non comedis, Germane, bibis: tu non bibis, Angle, sed comedis: comedis, Flandre, bibisque bene.*²

From the early part of the century we do not possess many first-hand accounts of what the Germans thought of the English. Haller, to be sure, left a fragmentary diary of his trip to England in 1727, and Pöllnitz recorded rather fully the impressions he received there, presenting his view of English customs and national characteristics usually with reference to those of the French. In general, he concluded that³ "Englishmen were much the same in their own country as the Frenchmen are outside of France, that is to say, haughty, scornful and such as think nothing good enough; and in like manner they are when abroad what the French are in their own country, good-natur'd, civil and affable." In 1741 Baron Bielfeld pointed out two impelling forces which he held accountable for everything the Englishman did:⁴ "The English have a strong resemblance to the ancient

¹ *Neuvermehrter Curieuser Antiquarius*, pp. 7-10.

² Frequent are the allusions to the Englishman's fondness for drink. "Certainly twice as much port wine is drunk yearly in England as is produced in Portugal," says Lichtenberg (*Allerhand. Vermischte Schriften*. Vol. II, p. 193). See also Moritz' *Reisen*, p. 117; Büschel's *Neue Reisen*, p. 210; Wendeborn's *Zustand*. Vol. II, p. 92.

³ *Memoirs*, 1729-33. Vol. V, p. 244.

⁴ *Letters*, Vol. IV, p. 70.

Romans. These cared for nothing but *bread and public shows*: and the English seem to have no other desires. It is to procure the necessities and the comforts of an easy life that they urge their industry, that they pursue with so much ardour commerce and navigation, and that they nourish a little fund of avarice, which makes them fond of gaming of every kind. Even the arts and sciences are here cultivated only with a view to interest. The second capital object of an Englishman is the public shews; and these cannot be sufficiently varied and multiplied."

After the middle of the century we find that the German's interest in England led him to write exhaustively on all phases of English life, and we have, consequently, especially from the last third of the century, a large number of character-sketches which are more or less illuminating. These are important, of course, not only as representative of the individual German's conception of the English character, but also as influential in moulding public opinion in Germany. In a review of Toze's *Present State of Europe*¹ we read that the insight of this author into things British was particularly clear and accurate, as was established in part by the fact that Sir Thomas Nugent, the English translator of the work, found it unnecessary to make any changes or additions, when he came to the chapters on Great Britain. In the opinion of Toze² the English are "generous, benevolent, sincere, courageous, resolute and bold and consequently make excellent soldiers; which they have sufficiently shown in so many wars, both by sea and land. They must, however, be well clothed and fed, as living too plentifully at home to bear much hardship. They are extremely violent in their passions, and, particularly, their anger borders on rage. A kind of savageness frequently prevails in their manners, manifesting itself in the bloody fights and diversions among them, and in which particularly the commonalty take such delight." Of especial interest is Lichtenberg's estimate of the British character, for it bears the unmistakable stamp of originality and discern-

¹ A. d. B. Vol. XIII (1770), pt. II, p. 552.

² *Present State of Europe*. Vol. II, p. 204.

ment. In 1774 he came across the following statement from Hume: "The English of any people in the universe have the least of a national character, unless this very singularity may pass for such."¹ At that time he could not understand how such a man could make this statement, since its falsity was undoubtedly apparent to anyone in England. But the following year, after having spent sixteen weeks among the English people, Lichtenberg himself inclined toward Hume's view, without, however, accepting it absolutely. "If anything definite may be said as to the character of the English," he writes,² "it is this: that they are, as the saying goes, very high-strung. They distinguish many things where others perceive a single object and are easily carried away by the impulse of the moment. This explains how changeableness is a part of their genius. If they give themselves over deliberately to a single end, they must, in this way, accomplish a great deal." Absolutely opposed to Hume's opinion is that of Goede. He recognizes the fact that individuality is more marked in England than in other European countries, but, he maintains,³ "it is quite as undeniable that certain prominent features which, as the result of the public life, form the foundation of every national character, are met with much more generally in the English nation than among any other peoples. This national peculiarity of the English is firmly established in their whole being and is not a superficial phenomenon of fashion or of passing fancy. While the German in all climes adapts himself to foreign customs and, with more complaisance than independence, assumes externally the frivolity of the French, the cold seriousness of the English and the phlegmatic pride of the Spanish, despite the fact that none of these qualities are natural to him, the Englishman, on the other hand, shows an unyielding inflexibility and would rather give up the most valuable treasures than a single trace of his national character." Elsewhere⁴ Goede mentions as the three outstanding

¹ See Hume, David: *Philosophical Works*. Ed. by Green and Grose. 4 Vols. London, 1882. Vol. III, p. 252.

² *Urtheile und Bemerkungen. Vermischte Schriften*. Vol. II, p. 118.

³ *England*. Vol. I, p. 187.

⁴ *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 278.

faults of the Englishman his repelling coldness, his exaggerated national pride and an unjust hatred of foreigners. But of this writer's views we shall hear more later on.

A fairly typical character sketch is the following from the pen of Gottfried Achenwall:¹ "The Englishman has more in common with the Germans and northern European peoples than with the southern. But he is distinguished from all other nations in that he depends more on his own judgment than on that of others and discloses in his actions extreme impetuosity. He relies on his common sense and finds his supreme happiness in following his own head. He seldom takes the middle course, and often carries either his virtues or his vices to extremes. At times he is carried away by the violent emotions of his melancholic-choleric temperament. Hence comes the love for the unusual, the fondness for exaggeration, and the contradiction that his conduct sometimes seems to reveal. He is praised for his honesty, his generosity, his discretion, his lion's heart, his fearlessness of death and his love of freedom. Among the masses of the people we sometimes find furious passions, unbridled excesses in sensual pleasure, wildness in all sorts of diversions, scorn, coldness toward foreigners and an inclination to suicide."

In 1802 Joachim Heinrich Campe made a tour of England and France in order to study the customs and manners of the two countries. The following year he published in his *Neue Sammlung von Reisebeschreibungen*² an account of his travels which was welcomed in Germany because of its author's acute powers of observation. Campe admired the English for their general prosperity, their inventiveness, their untiring industry, their patriotism and their enthusiasm for every good cause, their vigorous, healthy appearance, their love of cleanliness, and the universal culture and healthful atmosphere of their life. But upon reaching Calais he experienced a feeling of pleasure "at finding himself suddenly among refined,

¹ *Staatsverfassung der heutigen vornehmsten Europäischen Reiche*. Pt. I, p. 274.

² See N. A. d. B., Vol. LXXXV (1803), pt. I, p. 266, ff., for a full review of *Reise durch England und Frankreich, in Briefen an einen jungen Freund in Deutschland*, von J. H. Campe. Braunschweig, 1803.

polite, agreeable, sympathetic people after having seen in England so many cold, unsympathetic, gloomy faces, which looked down on every foreigner with proud contempt." This tourist commended the generosity of the English, as it was evidenced in the numerous public foundations and institutions of charity, and he noted to the credit of England that the prevailing means of acquiring and holding wealth there was through honesty and uprightness in all one's dealings. Like the majority of visitors from the Continent, however, Campe complained bitterly of the exorbitant charges that were imposed on him at every turn, and he took it to be the practice of the English to take advantage of foreigners in this way.

In their writings on England German authors employ the terms *national pride* and *love of freedom* on almost every page, and the mere frequency with which these attributes are mentioned indicate that they are regarded as the most striking features of the English character. Special themes of never-failing interest are the political liberty and the resulting democracy of the people, and here we find almost no difference of opinion, so general is the admiration for these features of the national life. Occasional references are made to certain dangers of democracy which are realized in England, such as a lack of due respect for constituted authority, but such shortcomings are considered insignificant when balanced against the advantages derived from the same source. Even the foreign visitor enjoys the privileges of English freedom, as is illustrated by the following lines from Kotzebue's *Indianer in England*:¹

Kaberdar: Perhaps you take me or my daughter or my old friend Mussapery for contraband goods?

Tidewater: Good now, most venerable Sir, if you would not in all haste take it ill of me, I would say that it is almost the case: for we know not exactly who you are? What you are? Whence you are? Why you are? in short, you possess in a great degree all the qualities of a contraband commodity.

Kaberdar: Had I gone to Spain, I should have taken this speech, but in England I know my rights.—Pack off to the door!

¹ Act I, scene 10. These and all other quotations from the play are in the words of A. Thomson's translation, *The East Indian*. London, 1799.

Their freedom was usually pointed to as the chief advantage the English people enjoyed, and this advantage, it was held, was the cause of England's superiority in many respects over other nations. Archenholz attached such importance to this freedom that he regarded it as the sole source of the great difference between England and the other countries of Europe.¹ This view is supported by Goede:² "Midst the great storms which have devastated Europe the English nation has steadily maintained a state of prosperity unequaled by any other people. . . . The greatness, the glory and the happiness of this people is based on its freedom. This fact is attested by all the phenomena of its public and private life. Such a brilliant example of what freedom can accomplish is at the present time as instructive as it is heart-stirring."

For the consensus of intelligent opinion among Germans who had no opportunity of knowing the English people in their own home we may again refer to Toze:³ "Their liberty shows itself not only in their behaviour, but likewise in their way of thinking, which shakes off prejudices and exerts itself to the great improvement of their understandings, in which they generally surpass the bulk of other people. Another good consequence of their liberty is that the great pay no servile homage to the court, nor the commonalty to their superiors; who likewise are not so haughty and impervious as in other countries; so that the difference between the high and low is not so conspicuous in England. Their love of freedom and the affluence in which they live likewise produce in them a warm love for their country: but, on the other hand, this very freedom and affluence is apt to fill them with pride, self-conceit and contempt for other nations." Moritz was deeply stirred by a contemplation of the effects of British democracy:⁴ "When we see here how the commonest street-vender takes an interest in what is going on, how even the smallest children enter into the spirit of the nation, in short, how everyone shows his consciousness of being a man and an Englishman,

¹ *Picture of England*. Vol. II, p. 116.

² *England, etc.* Preface, p. xii.

³ *Present State of Europe*. Vol. II, pp. 201-202.

⁴ *Reisen . . . in England*, p. 38.

just as his king and his minister, our feelings are very different from those we experience when we see soldiers drilling in Berlin." And still greater is the enthusiasm of Zimmermann:¹ "The English owe the greater degree of liberty they enjoy above other nations to the superiority of their knowledge. Animated by a spirit of freedom, of which no adequate idea can be formed, even in most republics, they fasten upon the sciences as a tiger on its prey; they meditate on the great interests of nations and of mankind with the most daring expansion of thought: they are ever taken up with great objects and ever doing great things. Ignorance and error shrink from the penetrating vision of their genius; arbitrary power trembles before their vigorous investigation of its principles, while the authority of the law alone stands immovable and sacred. The greatest part of such nations as are free think and act but by halves; while, on the other hand, the English soar with a steady flight to the skies, because their wings are not clipped, neither are they called back by the lure of the falconer."²

In England more than in any other European country the individual stood alone; his position was determined largely by his own merits and was by no means so dependent on the accident of birth as it was elsewhere. As we shall see, pride appeared to the Germans to be one of the most apparent traits in the British character; but pride of family and of position was less general in England than in Germany, and

¹ *Vom Nationalstolze*, p. 266. Wilcocke's translation (p. 218) is quoted here.

² A comparison with the original discloses the fact that the translator added some peculiar flourishes to the already glowing tribute of Zimmermann, as, for instance, the tiger seizing its prey, the meditating with expansion of thought, the lure of the falconer:

"Die Engländer sind nur darum freier als andere Nationen, weil sie aufgeklärter sind. Mit diesem Geiste der Freiheit, wovon man in den meisten Republiken nur nicht einmal einen Begriff hat, werfen sich die Engländer auf die Wissenschaften, denken über die Angelegenheiten der Völker, sind immer mit grossen Gegenständen beschäftigt und thun immer grosse Sachen. Vor dem Uebermass ihrer Einsichten siehet man die Unwissenheit verschwinden, die von guten Gründen entblösste Gewalt erzittern, und die einzige Kraft der Gesetze unbeweglich stehen. Die meisten freien Nationen denken nur halb; da hingegen die Engländer sich bis zum Himmel geschwungen weil man ihnen die Flügel nicht abhaut."

this fact is frequently mentioned by German writers. Zimmermann, for instance, whose impressions of the British were formed chiefly in court circles, where democracy was put to the severest test, expresses the following view:¹ "In no [other] country is the individual so far dissociated from his birth, his rank and everything that is peculiar to him; in Germany the question is asked concerning a stranger, does he belong to the nobility; in Holland, has he money; but in England, what manner of man is he?" Kotzebue, likewise, recognizes the Englishman's comparative indifference toward pedigree in his *Indianer in England*.²

"Samuel: As for family, gracious Mamma, you know well that here in England we are not accustomed to think it of much importance.

Lady Smith: Alas no!—The carter and the lord enjoy here the very same rights."

Many individual instances of the feeling of equality existing among the English people are recorded by German tourists. Sophie de la Roche in her *Tagebuch einer Reise durch Holland und England*³ relates the following incident: At the Covent Garden Theater a man in one of the most remote corners of the gallery in the middle of the performance shouted suddenly to an actor to stop. The actor obeyed, and there was a pause until another spectator, to whose presence the first objected, could be removed. Finally, the self-assertive Englishman arose again and shouted: *Go on!*, whereupon the actors resumed their parts. Not the slightest trace of impatience was shown by the king or any other important personages present, but all patiently awaited the conclusion of the interruption. In the opinion of a German reviewer of the above mentioned work,⁴ such an incident affords a more accurate commentary on the spirit of a nation than whole volumes of learned discussions. Of similar import is the following observation of Küttner:⁵ "At the horse races at Maidenhead I happened to

¹ *ibid.*, p. 264.

² Act I, scene 1.

³ (Offenbach, 1788.) See A. d. B. Vol. LXXXXV (1790), pt. I, p. 265 ff.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 269.

⁵ *Beiträge zur Kenntnis . . . von England*. N. A. d. B., Vol. II (1793), pt. 2, p. 611.

find myself standing in the same booth with the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York. They were not better dressed than I, and they awakened in me new reflections on the difference which prevails between a prince of this country and a small German prince. Here he mingles with other people in everyday life and is distinguished from the rest only by his superior courtesy."

The Englishman's independence and self-reliance were regarded as admirable products of the personal liberty he enjoyed. "A rich Englishman," writes Archenholz,¹ "and in general every inhabitant of that fortunate island, knows no other restraint on his conduct than the laws and his own inclination. If he does not infringe on the jurisprudence of his country, he is entirely master of his own actions. From thence proceed those numerous follies and those extravagances at which the nations among whom they are unknown seem so much shocked, for want of being able to investigate the cause, which would make them rather astonished that they are not more numerous. *The opinion of the world*, so formidable in other countries, is there disregarded. Nobody consults anything but his own judgment; and they all despise the sentiments of those from whom they have nothing either to hope or to fear." These traits in the British national character are the subject of a strong eulogy in the *Neues Göttingisches Historisches Magazin* of the year 1792:² "The English have in general, despite the utmost refinement of life and the most exaggerated luxury, remained much closer to nature and much simpler in their manner of living than other peoples. They are more truly human beings than other cultivated nations. Each one is independent of every one else, and can be so without the slightest offence to his neighbor. The spirit of imitation is nowhere less in evidence than here. The commonest phrase, even from the lips of children, is: *Can't I judge for myself?* Their language is richer than any other in words that express self-analysis and voluntary action;

¹ *Picture of England*. Vol. I, p. 3.

² 3 Vols. Hanover, 1792-94. Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 194 (Letter from London, March 12, 1791).

and these words are current even among the lowest classes." In the general praise of freedom Wendeborn joins unreservedly. Unlike Archenholz, however, he does not see in public opinion a potential hindrance to personal liberty and something, therefore, which is properly disregarded, but an impartial court in which all questions relating to the interests of the citizens are decided:¹ "Here, heaven be praised, not only thoughts, but likewise tongue, pen and press are free. An Englishman has, consequently, no reason for being a hypocrite. He thinks, he speaks, just as he sees fit. . . . The entire public here is the great tribunal before which everything is brought for judgment. Every one is heard, every one is permitted to defend himself. If there were among all peoples such heralds, whose loud voices were capable of awakening shame and fear: if the common man were everywhere so eager to read the newspapers as here, insubordination, oppression and superstition would soon be banished by the majority of votes from many regions, and peoples who could read and who had the privilege of writing would soon cease to be slaves."

A still further national asset arising from the general participation of the people in all affairs of the state is the public spirit, which Archenholz describes² as "one of the most distinguishing characteristics of the English, . . . a virtue unknown in any other country, and which no other language than theirs is able to express. This passion consists in the active zeal of every individual to cooperate towards the general good; the very lowest of the people possess it in a very extraordinary degree."

As for the Englishman's love of country, we have already found it attested by Toze and other German authorities. No foreigner could have failed to observe the presence of this trait in the English character, but what the Englishman would have termed *patriotism* in his own make-up usually passed in the eyes of foreigners for *national pride*, and it is perhaps literally true that no other quality is so frequently mentioned

¹ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. II, p. 273.

² *Picture of England*. Vol. I, p. 185—Also, A. d. B., Vol. LXXI (1787), pt. I, pp. 11-12, and *Annalen der br. Geschichte*. Vol. III, p. 202.

in describing the British as this same *Nationalstolz*. Moritz, however, sees that the English, besides this quality, also possess a commendable sort of patriotism:¹ "Here everybody, even to the lowliest, carries on his lips the name *native land*, a term used in Germany only by poets. *For my country I'll shed every drop of my blood!* says little Jacky in our house, a boy who is scarcely twelve years old. Love of country and military bravery are the burden of the ballads and folk-songs which are sung by women in the streets and sold for a few pennies." But the genuineness of this patriotism is questioned by Wendeborn:² "People who have a natural love of freedom and who will endure anything else rather than fetters . . . always oppose every force that might restrict their rights as human beings. Of such people, who are patriots from principle and from natural inclination, there are many in England, but they are a small number in comparison with the nation as a whole. There are also a great many who seek only their own advancement, using their feigned patriotism as a mask for their ambition."

Contact with the English did much to impress the Germans with a realization of their own comparative lack of patriotism. In the two words *patriam fugimus* Lichtenberg sums up the character of the German people,³ and Zimmermann writes of them as follows:⁴ "Single instances of a most absurd pride are evident enough at the German universities, in the German imperial cities, among the German nobility and in all phases of German life [bei allem was in Deutschland Herr und Hund ist]. But instances of foolish national pride are on the whole uncommonly rare among a people which scorns the works of its artists, receives the efforts of its poets with ridicule and praises above everything else exotic products and foreign scholarship." Especially in the latter part of the century do we find a considerable amount of propaganda from German men of letters with a view to developing greater love of coun-

¹ *Reisen . . . in England*, p. 39.

² *Zustand*, etc. Vol. I, p. 74.

³ *Urtheile und Bemerkungen. Vermischte Schriften*. Vol. II, p. 119.

⁴ *Vom Nationalstolze*. p. 8.

try. In the *Deutsches Museum* for May, 1776,¹ appears an essay, *Ueber den Vaterlandsstolz* which, we may safely assume, was inspired largely by its author's veneration for England. Here we read an earnest appeal to the German public: "You are a German! Then, be proud of your Herman, of your hero Frederick, of Katharine, the benefactress of mankind! Hand down to posterity the names of Leibnitz, Klopstock, and Lessing! Name Germany's inventors, when England buries her actors beside kings and France places her interior decorators among the Forty! We are lacking in historians and orators, it is true, but not in poets and deeds. Still, let us be just and not forget that only thirty years ago Gottsched was still the German Addison, that even yet humor, wit and grace thrive only with difficulty on German soil and that *fatherland* and *freedom* in our language are little more than meaningless sounds."

In the imaginative literature we find additional proof that pride was regarded as a ruling passion of the British. Two English characters in the plays of Christian Felix Weisse confess themselves to be its victims; in *Amalia* Freeman mentions his pride as one of the causes of his downfall,² and in *Die Freundschaft auf der Probe*³ Nelson is made to exclaim: "How my proud heart has deceived me!" From Schiller we hear much of this English characteristic. In *Kabale und Liebe* Ferdinand says to Lady Milford:⁴ "Gird thyself with all the pride of thy native Britain—I, a German youth, will spurn thee!" and again,⁵ "You call yourself an Englishwoman—pardon me, lady, I can hardly believe you.—The freeborn daughter of the freest people under heaven—a people too proud to imitate even *foreign virtues*—would surely never have sold herself to *foreign vices*!—It is not possible, lady, that you should be a native of Britain, unless indeed your heart be as much *below* as the sons of Britannia vaunt

¹ Vol. I, pt. 5, pp. 408-409.

² Act I, scene 4.

³ Act I, scene 5.

⁴ Act I, scene 7. Translation here and elsewhere from Schiller's *Works*, ed. by J. G. Fischer. 4 Vols. Philadelphia, no date. Vol. I, pp. 312-67.

⁵ Act II, scene 3.

theirs to be *above* all others!" In the final words of Mary Stuart to her servants¹ there is likewise an allusion to English pride:

Und ist euch meine letzte Bitte werth,
Bleibt nicht in England, dass der Britte nicht
Sein stolzes Herz an eurem Unglück weide.

and again in Schiller's *Jungfrau* the Duke of Burgundy chafes against the pride of his temporary ally:²

Fern ist mein Sinn vom Frieden mit dem Dauphin,
Doch die Verachtung und den Uebermuth
Des stolzen Englands kann ich nicht ertragen.

Both Archenholz and Goede recognized the intensity of the Englishman's national pride, but they were both inclined to condone it as a legitimate and natural feeling. "This pride," writes Archenholz,³ "is carried among them to a great length. Indeed, how is it possible to know and feel all the merit of such a system of liberty without attaching an uncommon value to it? This same sentiment with which we so violently reproach the English of the present times has always been felt by the most enlightened nations of the world. . . . This fault, if it is one, is still more common amongst the Spanish than them [the English]; but being founded on no solid grounds, it has become very justly a subject of ridicule. The English themselves are hated on this account, although their very enemies, at the bottom of their hearts, pay tribute to their extraordinary merit." Similarly Goede:⁴ "Even if national pride is a fault, it seems almost unavoidable in the case of a people which, as the English, has attained to a dazzling height of power and culture and which lives cut off by its insular position from other nations."

The comparison drawn by Wendeborn between the pride of an Englishman and that of a German is of such interest that it is quoted at length:⁵ "Love of country is common to

¹ Act V, scene 6.

² Act II, scene 2.

³ *Picture of England*. Vol. I, pp. 49-50.

⁴ *England*, etc. Vol. II, p. 280.

⁵ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. II, pp. 251-53.

almost all peoples; among Europeans the English possess it perhaps in the highest and the Germans in the lowest degree. . . . But in vindication of the Englishman I must say that he esteems his person not so much on its own account as on account of his British birth. It is just the reverse with other peoples, especially with my fellow-countrymen, who usually think highly of themselves and their *ego* and air their personal pride, but concern themselves little about the glory which their native country might give them. A cultured Englishman speaks of his person, of his dignity and rank with modesty, of his native country with eulogy and a sort of enthusiasm: on the other hand a so-called fine gentleman in Germany is in love with his position and his title and seems only to be ashamed when he has to say he is a German. If my fellow-countrymen might only become better patriots!"

That self-conceit was a general failing of the British does not seem to have been the opinion of the majority of eighteenth century Germans. To the testimony of Wendeborn we may add that of Zimmermann:¹ "Englishmen are not vain, for they concern themselves but little about the opinion of others; even if honor is to them a motive of action, still, they are not governed in their actions by the judgment of others; enough if they are honorable in their own eyes, or at most in the eyes of their fellow-citizens." Nor does Archenholz show a conceited people when he writes:² "John Bull is a favorite subject for the satire of dramatic writers. The people are never more happy than when they see their own follies personified in this character; they are then sure to receive every sarcasm with the loudest applause."³

¹ *Vom Nationalstolze*, p. 216.

² *Picture of England*. Vol. II, p. 158.

³ In the nineteenth century a change of opinion on this point is to be noted. In 1823 von Weech wrote: "A peculiarity of the Englishman, which is anything but creditable to him, is the over-estimation of his own worth and the low, often absurd opinion which he holds of everything that does not come from his own country." (*Reise über England . . . 1823-27*. 3 Vols. in 2. München, 1831. Vol. I, p. 79.) And Fontane writes with still more conviction of the Englishman's conceit: "The German lives in order to live, the Englishman lives in order to represent. In Germany he lives happily who lives comfortably, in England, he who is envied. The German lives for his own sake, the Englishman

The Britisher's pride was doubtless the main cause of his appearing, at least to a casual foreign observer, to be of a very unsociable nature.—“Every Englishman is an island,” writes Novalis.¹—It seemed difficult to find the way to his heart; but once this difficulty was overcome, he proved to be a friend in whom no amount of confidence was misplaced. As Mead puts it,² “getting on easily with people that one chances to meet is an art that the French have carried to perfection. The Englishman of the eighteenth century commonly lacked the flexibility and the self-forgetfulness necessary for such casual intercourse, particularly if he had to use a language not his own and thus run the risk of making himself ridiculous.” To Küttner, one of his warmest German admirers, the Englishman appeared to be totally devoid of sociability; especially striking to him were the customs at the English inns.³ Nowhere did he find *tables d'hôte*; guests seldom addressed one another and usually did not even so much as give each other a nod of recognition. Their first question upon entering an inn was, *Can I have a room to myself?* In short, they seemed to avoid carefully all intercourse with others and to entertain suspicions of all whom they met, or who attempted to converse with them.

Georg Forster had occasion to complain of the Englishman's coldness and indifference. In a letter to Heyne, his father-in-law, he writes:⁴ “But the English are too reserved, too suspicious, too indifferent toward foreigners, or at least toward foreign endeavors, to be induced, in the brief period of my sojourn, to do anything for the promotion of my literary undertakings. So I must content myself with the very little I can snatch here and there, *ut canis e Nilo*, and which is little—in the selfish sense of the word, of course—for the sake of others. He has no desire to give them anything, but he craves praise, honor and admiration (*Ein Sommer in London. Aus England und Schottland.* Berlin, 1900. p. 209).

¹ *Schriften*. Ed. by Ernst Heilborn. 2 parts in 3 Vols. Berlin, 1901. Pt. 2, first half. *Fragmente* (1799), p. 199.

² *Grand Tour*. p. 128.

³ *Beiträge zur Kenntnis . . . von England*, etc. A. d. B., Vol. CX (1792), pt. 1, p. 214.

⁴ May 24, 1790. *J. G. Forster's Briefwechsel*, herausgegeben von Th. Z. geb. Z. 2 pts. Leipzig, 1829. Pt. II, p. 6.

enough." Two months later Forster was still more discouraged.¹ "From the sojourn in England I have derived less benefit than I had hoped, because I encountered everywhere too much reserve and coldness; and after a residence of twelve years in Germany I had become unaccustomed to this fatal trait in the British character. The only men who have received me kindly in England are Mr. Paradise, of London, and Dr. Silbthorpe, of Oxford."

This side of the Englishman is fully discussed by Goede,² who, on the whole, is less inclined than the majority of his fellow-countrymen to consider the English cold and unimpressible; yet he is fully aware of the fact that they do not possess all the social qualifications of the French: "Loud and almost universal are foreigners' complaints of a lack of sociability among the English. Certain it is that the foreigner always finds it difficult to form acquaintances among them, that the social life of the English is on the whole more restricted than that of other nations and that in no [other] country in the world do so many voluntarily live a life of seclusion as in England. How sharp is the contrast here between them and their neighbors, the French! The latter seem to live only for society." But certain similar charges meet with this writer's emphatic denial: "The English are frequently accused, especially by the French, of being cold and unsympathetic. Coldness is always a result of unadulterated egotism which, in its shriveled nature, prevents the admission of every liberal sensation. . . . It is inconceivable how such an accusation could apply to the English. Their daily works testify against it. Among what people is there stronger evidence of patriotism and public spirit? Where have the customs remained purer and simpler? What nation has in modern times looked after the alleviation of misery in all forms with such far-reaching generosity?" And so Goede concludes that the colder the exterior of the Englishman appears, the greater is his inward warmth.³

¹ Letter to Heyne, July 13, 1790, *ibid.*, p. 11.

² *England*, etc. Vol. II, pp. 279-87.

³ An early nineteenth century tourist was inclined to attribute the Englishman's indifference toward strangers in part to his strong attachment to those

A profound admiration for British magnanimity, generosity and charity was evinced by numerous eighteenth century Germans. The presence of these traits in the British character was always recognized, and it was generally agreed that such virtues were cultivated to a higher degree in England than in any other country. This is stated by Büschel as an uncontested fact:¹ "Magnanimity and charity are pre-eminently English virtues. Of them no other country will be able to present such glorious monuments as England. Poverty and destitution have a sacred claim on the generosity of a rich man; he will never send away the helpless uncom-forted. From youth up he has seen fulfilled in the most effective manner the duties of philanthropy; its doctrines are urgently commended to him, and he never loses sight of them."

Magnanimity is the outstanding quality of the most distinctively English character presented by Lessing. Sir William, the father of Sara Sampson, is ready from the beginning to forgive both his wayward daughter and Mellefont, her seducer. Of the former he says:² "It was the mistake of a tender girl, and her flight was the consequence of her penitence. Such transgressions are better than forced virtues—Yet I feel it, Waitwell, I feel it, even if these transgressions were real offences, even if they were the most reprehensible crimes; ah! I would still forgive her!" And even after his daughter has perished at the hands of Mellefont's former mistress, Sir William likewise pardons the man who has deprived him of all that he cherished on earth, declaring³ that Mellefont was "more unfortunate than vicious." A further indication of Sir William's generosity is his treatment of Waitwell, his faithful old servant, to whom he says:⁴ "From now on, my who made up his own circle: "Another cause of the lack of sociability toward foreigners is perhaps the great sociability of the English among themselves. And as there is never any lack of variety, especially in boundless London, they have little desire of acquaintances among foreigners, unless the latter are personages of eminent reputation or distinguished talents." (Von Weech's *Reise über England . . . 1823-27*. 3 Vols. in 2. München, 1831. Vol. I, p. 74.)

¹ *Neue Reisen*, etc. p. 218.

² Act I, scene 1.

³ Act V, last scene.

⁴ Act III, scene 3.

good Waitwell, you are no longer to consider yourself my servant. You have long since earned in my service the right to enjoy a decent old age, and I will assure it to you. I will remove all difference between us; in the other world, you very well know, there is no such difference."

An extreme instance of English generosity is presented in Kotzebue's *Indianer in England*:¹ Robert, the son of Sir John Smith, who had gone to the East Indies as captain of a vessel carrying a cargo valued at five thousand pounds, in hopes of retrieving the family fortune, returns empty-handed. Jack, who is boatswain of the vessel, gives an account of how this came about. They encountered a ship-wrecked vessel of which "the captain, a fine fellow of a Dutchman, had lost everything but his life and the honor of a sailor; and at home sat his young wife and three small children who had not a morsel to put into their mouths. Whenever he spoke of them, he pumped clear water from both his eyes. This my master could not stand. 'Comrade,' said he to him, 'I have neither wife nor child; here are five thousand pounds, take the purse and God bless you.'" To this the equally generous father says: "Did he so? then for that God will bless him; and I am glad that he has brought home nothing and will willingly divide with him my last morsel." The manifestations of generosity on the part of Englishmen in German literature are, in fact, so numerous as to leave no doubt that this was considered a common English virtue. As another example let us take the case of Lady Milford in *Kabale und Liebe*, whose generosity prompts her to sell a valuable casket of jewels, just presented her by the prince, in order to relieve the sufferings of four hundred destitute families whose village on the frontier had been destroyed by fire;² and upon taking flight from his duchy she writes to the prince:³ "The happiness of your subjects was the condition of my love. For three years the deception has lasted. The veil at length falls from my eyes! I look with disgust on favors which are stained with the tears of your subjects—Bestow the love

¹ Act II, scene 9.

² Act II, scene 1.

³ Act IV, scene 9.

which I can no longer accept upon your weeping country, and learn from a British princess compassion to your German people."

An analysis of the Britisher's philanthropy is attempted by Baron Bielfeld:¹ "Charity also forms a considerable part of the distinguishing character of an Englishman; but it has here a very different external appearance from what it has in France. We here see no hospitals where duchesses by the bedside of the sick give them their remedies on their knees. The care of this is here left to nurses, who are paid by the public, whose trade it is, who understand it better and whose presence does not lay any constraint on the poor patient. . . . The charity of the English is not theologic, but philosophic; it extends to those only who are incapable of labor and not to the encouragement of idleness. . . . A sturdy beggar[s] is but a bad trade in England. . . . The English count it a great charity also to aid those who strive to bear up against their misfortunes, or privately to assist such foreigners as may become embarrassed among them. They extend their benevolence even to prisoners, and consider it a disgrace to humanity to suffer them to perish in gloomy and noxious dungeons." Another tourist who praised the liberality of the English was Volkmann, who declared that the charitable institutions, even though often poorly managed, were so remarkable as to arouse the wonder and admiration of all visitors,² and a London correspondent to the *Neues Göttingisches Historisches Magazin* writes under date of March 12, 1791:³ "Anyone who wishes to learn and admire the character and especially the philanthropy of the English, must visit the capital during this season of the year, for the numerous clubs and charitable societies which have been organized for a thousand different purposes, are now holding their annual banquets, in which everyone may take part who pays his guinea." In short, however biased and contradictory were the judgments on other points, it was generally conceded that

¹ *Letters*. Vol. IV, p. 204.

² *Neueste Reisen*. Vol. I, p. 31.

³ Vol. I (1792), pt. 1, p. 192.

the English was a philanthropic people; and no visitor seems to have taken greater delight in extolling this virtue than did Goede:¹ "In all fairness to other peoples it may be safely asserted that no European nation can compare with the English in the number and perfection of its charitable institutions. In most other countries the origin of the finest monuments of noble benevolence may be traced to ancient times, when a pious faith hoped to win the favor of Heaven by means of love and compassion; in England they date from the most recent times, are enlarged, extended and improved yearly and appear as the combined product of religion and patriotism. What tender attention does the unfortunate man receive here! The respect shown him causes him to forget his dependent position; it is not strangers who coldly extend him alms, it is friends who lift him up, who, by means of their sympathy, inspire in him confidence, courage and love of life; he finds himself no longer alone and abandoned in the world."

As to the general good-nature and kindness of the English, there is some difference of opinion, but the conclusion usually reached is that the absence of these traits is more apparent than real. Here Archenholz once more takes up their defense:² "It seems to me that no better proof need be alleged of the good nature of the English than their deportment on all public occasions. One is astonished to observe compassion, benevolence, generosity, and, in one word, all the social virtues, carried to a high degree of perfection, [even] among the very lowest people. If a stranger loses his way and happens to ask for any particular street or house, the first person whom he meets will point out his road and even accompany him, without the hope of any recompense: no one ever experienced a refusal." By a single instance which came under his observation Pöllnitz seeks to establish the kindliness of the populace.³ He tells of an advocate of personal liberty who, in order to win more easily his wager that he could run around St. James' Park in so many minutes, removed all his clothing and started

¹ *England, etc.* Vol. II, p. 215.

² *Picture of England.* Vol. II, p. 120.

³ *Memoirs.* Vol. III, p. 303 (Whatley's translation).

on his race. "The ladies, astonished at such a sight, knew not how to keep their countenances, some turned their heads aside, others hid their faces with their fans, but they all made a row, as well as the men, to let him pass by. After he had finished his race, he gravely put on his clothes near Whitehall, where he had left them; and, as he had won the wager, abundance of people, instead of checking him for his insolence, threw him money. Judge by this if any people be so good-natured and happy as the English." A denial of British kindness we have already met with in some of the accounts of their public amusements and of their executions, which, by a certain element of the population, were looked on as a form of diversion. Bielfeld deplored these practices, but he did not on that account accuse the Englishman of inherent cruelty:¹ "All that I find reprehensible in the general character of the English . . . is a certain insensibility, which in the common people sometimes proceeds to ferocity, and which even reigns in their very pleasures, such as the murdering chase, the baiting of bulls and other animals, their races, in which both men and horses sometimes perish, the brutal combats between the men themselves, and other things of the same kind. The English not only see all these barbarities without emotion, but even pay for the pleasure of seeing them. I am inclined to think that their climate, their method of living, especially among the marine, wrong education, either physical or moral, must have given this insensibility to the English and that the fault does not lay in their hearts." That the British were at least as humane as other peoples was the belief of Pöllnitz:² "The English are run down for their cruelty, but I know not for what reason, unless it be that in battle they do not readily give quarter and are apt to pursue their advantage too far. I fancy it would be easy to prove that other nations who charge the English with this vice are more cruel than they. For in short the barbarities committed in the conquest of Mexico, the burning of the Palatinate, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Sicilian Vespers, the

¹ *Letters*. Vol. IV, p. 206 (Hooper's translation).

² *Memoirs*. Vol. III, p. 289.

assassinations of the best of kings, are cruelties that are not to be matched in the history of England. We don't hear of those assassinations in this country that are committed elsewhere, and even the highwaymen seem to be more humane here than abroad; for they generally content themselves with what is given them without shedding of blood, and some of them are so generous as to give money to people whom other highwaymen have stripped."

If we may judge by the absolute lack of dissenting opinion, honesty and frankness were among the Britisher's most prominent characteristics. So marked was his frankness, in fact, that it often won for him the reputation of rudeness and incivility, but these qualities, like his apparent lack of sociability, although in frequent evidence on the surface, were not a real element of his nature, and all foreigners who were able to overlook such superficialities came to admire him for his probity and fair-dealing. "The English look on hypocrisy," observes Archenholz,¹ "as the most despicable of all vices; and from this proceeds that boldness of speech, which, if not softened a little by the choice of expressions, would pass for rudeness." And in the simple fact that they entertained a deep-seated hatred of the word *liar* Moritz saw an admirable trait in their character.²

A forceful example of the British sense of honor and integrity is presented by Klinger—no lover of the British—in his play *Elfride*. Edgar, King of England, has heard of the beauty of Elfride, but has never seen her. He sends Ethelwold, his trusted friend to confirm these rumors and, if they should prove true, to ask Elfride to share with him his throne. But Ethelwold himself falls in love with the fair Elfride. In order to leave open the way to his own happiness he reports to the king that she is not worthy of becoming Queen of England. Ethelwold and Elfride are married. A year and a half later they receive a visit from the king. The deception is apparent. Ethelwold's remorse over having violated his honor knows no bounds. Edgar rebukes him:³ "You know me and

¹ *Picture of England*. Vol. I, p. 42.

² *Reisen . . . in England*, p. 116.

³ Act V, scene 2.

are aware that I consider confidence in a friend and candor man's chief adornment." And Ethelwold answers: "Your just accusations are more painful to me than my near death. I await it without shrinking and conceal what my heart feels at this terrible moment." In Schiller's character of Paulet, the guardian of Mary Stuart, we see British integrity admirably portrayed. And even Burleigh, who tries to make Paulet forget for a time his sense of honor, is still a man of probity, though with him this virtue is overshadowed by subtile, ruthless diplomacy:¹

Burleigh. Man breitet aus, sie schwinde, lässt sie kränker
Und kränker werden, endlich still verschenden;
So stirbt sie in der Menschen Angedenken—
Und euer Ruf bleibt rein.

Paulet. Nicht mein Gewissen.

Burleigh. Wenn ihr die eigene Hand nicht leihen wollt,
So werdet ihr der fremden doch nicht wehren.

Paulet. Kein Mörder soll sich ihrer Schwelle nahn,
So lang die Götter meines Dachs sie schützen.

From Bielfeld² we learn that a "particular quality of the English is that candor and that frankness of behaviour which is the consequence. They think too justly to wish to deceive their brethren by false appearances, by those vain compliments which flatter little minds and which at the same time are so well known to be false, and to which we give the fine name of politeness. We must not imagine, however, that rusticity predominates in England, and least of all among those whose title, birth or fortune have given them the advantage of a liberal education. . . . On the contrary, I find much true politeness, much attention and a strong desire to please." Especially pronounced is Volkmann's enthusiasm:³ "Honesty is also a characteristic of the greatest part of the nation; the Englishman is a man of his word. It is true that many may be found at court, in the judgment chambers and at the stock exchange who do not always ask the advice of their

¹ *Maria Stuart*. Act II, scene 8.

² *Letters*. Vol. IV, p. 201.

³ *Neueste Reisen*, etc. Vol. I, p. 31.

conscience; but, generally speaking, the English merchant is honest, and the Englishman honorable, so that we may entrust ourselves to him under trying circumstances more readily than to a man of another nation." Particularly convincing is the testimony of Wendeborn on this point on account of the conservatism which usually marks his praise of the English:¹ "Honesty and a candid disposition are attributed to the character of the Englishman. To this my experience leads me to agree. Few assertions are so general as not to be subject to exceptions, and scoundrels and calculating [zurückhaltend] imposters are to be found here as well as in other countries, but on the whole the nation can justly claim for itself the glory of honesty. . . . There are here, as I have already said, hypocrites, impostors, misers, deceivers, as elsewhere, but the rank and file of the people are honorable and honest, and, with all due regard for other nations, if I had to entrust myself, under dangerous or trying circumstances, to a stranger, I would give the preference to the Englishman."

The Britisher's sense of honor as shown in his faithfulness to a promise of any nature whatever won the admiration of Kielmansegge, who observes in connection with the prize-fights so popular in England, that² "there is not the slightest doubt that the bets are duly paid, although frequently the parties do not know one another, or have seldom seen one another." And Archenholz eulogizes the honesty even of the notorious London thieves:³ "Nothing is more astonishing than the fidelity, I may even say the probity of these wretches in regard to one another: this appears in the mutual dangers that they run, the fair division that they make of the spoil, and, in fine, is perceptible through their whole behaviour. This phenomenon fully justifies the English proverb that 'there is honor among thieves.'"

Despite the Englishman's reverence for tradition and the established order of things—a quality in his make-up to which many German writers refer—he was always on the lookout for something new and unusual, and his readiness to accept a

¹ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. II, p. 270.

² *Diary*, p. 242.

³ *Picture of England*. Vol. II, p. 86.

new idea often amounted to gullibility. The good effects of this quality were recognized by Archenholz:¹ "The Briton, in Parliament as well as at the tavern, says with regard to doubtful questions, *I am open to conviction*, and if this conviction follows, he readily admits it. I hope that this virtue, so worthy of imitation, may one day characterize the German nation." Elsewhere Archenholz calls this same open-mindedness by a different name:² "It is remarked that no [other] nation is so credulous as the English;" and again,³ "Although the people are daily instructed by frequent examples, they are still disposed to believe every impostor."

The latter half of the eighteenth century was, in fact, the golden age of impostors and swindlers of all kinds, and nowhere did they find a more favorable field for their activities than in the city of London. In describing the Englishman as credulous German writers were, accordingly, simply adding their testimony to an otherwise well established fact. In his essay on the arch-swindler of the century, Cagliostro, Carlyle says of this period:⁴ "It was the very age of impostors, cut-purses, swindlers, double-gaugers, enthusiasts, ambiguous persons; quacks simple, quacks compound, crack-brained, or with deceit prepense; quacks and quackeries of all colors and kinds. How many Mesmerists, Magicians, Cabalists, Swedenborgians, Illuminati, Crucified Nuns, and Devils of London! To which the Inquisition Biographer adds Vampires, Sylphs, Rosicrucians, Freemasons, and an Et cetera. Consider your Schröpfers, Cagliostros, Casanovas, Saint-Germains, Dr. Grahams; the Chevalier d'Em, Psalmanazer, Abbé Paris and the Ghost of Cock Lane! As if Bedlam had broken loose; as if rather (in that spiritual Twelfth-hour of the night) the everlasting pit had opened itself, and from its still blacker bosom had issued Madness and all manner of shapeless Misbirths, to masquerade and chatter there." From Büschel we hear something of the success of all these impostors:⁵ "That these

¹ *Minerva*. Vol. VII, p. 522. Sept. 1793.

² *Picture of England*. Vol. II, p. 58.

³ *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 69.

⁴ *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*. Boston, 1859. p. 435 (First appeared in *Fraser's Magazine*, 1833).

⁵ *Neue Reisen*, p. 114.

gentlemen [Dr. Graham and Katerfelto] and all their brethren have a great following and dispose of their wares to advantage I can testify from my own observation; and the fact is all the less questionable when we take into account a prominent element in the nature of the English—their curiosity, which is apparent in all walks of life, among all classes of the people. Since this weakness is generally recognized, is it surprising that there are people who take advantage of it in order to enrich themselves? . . . For an adventurous brain nothing is easier than to lead all London by the nose by means of some simple mechanical toy, and such deceptions have been of frequent occurrence.”¹ Twenty years later the situation showed no marked improvement.² “Superstition appears in England in all forms in which it is seen in other countries; fortune-tellers, treasure seekers [Schatzgräber], astrologists and visionaries are perhaps quite as numerous here as in any other country of Europe. Sympathetic healing is practised, children wear amulets, and every possible precaution is taken against witch-craft.”

Concerning the Englishman's credulity many anecdotes were told. The following, from Wendeborn,³ is typical: “A few years ago a wag announced in the newspapers on the last day of March that one of the strangest processions would be seen the following day at noon moving toward Westminster Abbey. The announcement itself bore the marks of fabrication. Nevertheless, a large crowd assembled near the Abbey; in fact, many were to be seen waiting in carriages, until someone finally cried: *Today is April the first!*”

His predilection for the novel was doubtless responsible in part for the Englishman's belief in improbable things. According to Küttner,⁴ this feeling was so strong that every one made it a point to have on hand only such furniture, clothing

¹ “Für einen unternehmenden Kopf ist nichts leichter als mit einem Spielwerk ganz London am Narrenseile herumzuführen, wie dieses bereits mehreremals geschehen ist.”

² Goede's *England*, etc. Vol. II, p. 395.

³ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. II, p. 295.

⁴ *Beiträge zur Kenntnis . . . von England*. A. d. B. Vol. CX (1792), pt. I, p. 215.

or linen as his needs required, so that it might be practicable to acquire new styles as they made their appearance. The interest in current events, real and imaginary, was a further indication of the presence of this trait in the character of the Londoner. "How rapidly news spreads here!", exclaims Forster.¹ "Fresh nourishment must be continually provided for this greedy animal with eight hundred thousand throats! Yesterday the King of Sweden died of bilious fever; today the Queen of Russia was assassinated; the Spanish have seized Jamaica, France is equipping twenty men-of-war. And again only reports of peace are heard throughout the city."

But regardless of all this the Englishman was considered preeminently a man of sound judgment and common sense, and unstinted was the praise of his intelligence and personal culture. With the present-day interest in spiritualism, of which England seems to be one of the strong-holds, the eighteenth century attitude presents a sharp contrast, if we may rely on the statement of Büschel:² "Nobody here concerns himself about departed spirits, nor about those which they wish to call back; . . . nobody stops to think about whether it is safe and expedient to go on occupying a room in which a relative or friend hanged himself the day before; for such considerations nobody has time, so great are the demands of work or pleasure."

It is not without significance that the Englishman, Lord Seymour, in Schiller's uncompleted novel, *Der Geisterseher*, is the rationalist whom it is impossible to deceive by the faked appearance of ghosts. This significance is somewhat emphasized by the fact that the characters in the story are of several different nationalities, and sanity of judgment is thus, in a sense, made an especial attribute of the English. In fact, Lord Seymour can scarcely be said to reveal any other distinctive traits than his rationalism and a decided proclivity toward swearing; and this, too, is undoubtedly to be taken as a mark of British nationality.³ No doubt is left as to the

¹ *Ansichten*, etc., p. 372.

² *Neue Reisen*, p. 47.

³ Frequent are the references to the profanity of the English. For instance, Lichtenberg (*Urtheile*, etc., *Vermischte Schriften*, Vol. II, p. 121); "If countries

opinion of Wendeborn:¹ "The almost total absence of coercion from English education is one of the main causes of the freedom of thought and action, and it is the chief source of the sound intelligence, or *bon sens*, which is met with more generally among the English than elsewhere. Parents and teachers can tolerate contradictions here, if it seems to be reasonable, and a tone of finality is less frequently heard here than abroad."

When Büschel came to consider the general intelligence of the English, his usually great admiration for them took on new warmth:² "The better acquainted I become here, the more I am associated with Englishmen, the more estimable they appear to me. . . . And the cause of this high esteem? I have found that every Englishman—no rank, no class, neither sex excepted—is in his way a thinker. What beneficent spirit has cast its blessing upon the inhabitants of this land and dispelled the demons which still tyrannize, if not whole nations, at least the souls of the masses? What flash of lightning has illuminated their understanding, while many of their fellow-men, though they think, to be sure, that they are walking in the sunlight, are still groping in the dark?" Büschel, in fact, all but forgot his loyalty to his own country in his praise of the English:³ "Enlightenment, that idol of our men of letters, which we take such great pains to spread, which we often imagine we see where it is not, which we flatter ourselves we possess, loudly trumpeting the claim abroad; this divine gift we find here and, I might almost say, here alone. . . . Native common sense, freedom of thought, which, to be sure, often leads to impertinences, the pure, uncorrupted service of the Church of England, which does not promote or produce foolish conduct, and the education, are the indisputable sources of this rare and beneficent influence." Lichtenberg, somewhat more patriotic than Büschel, attempts a defense of his fellow-

were named from the words that are first heard [in them], England would have to be called *damn it*." See also Moritz: *Reisen*, etc., p. 135; and Heine: *Englische Fragmente. Sämmtliche Werke*. Hamburg, 1876. Vol. III, pp. 16-17.

¹ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. II, p. 244.

² *Neue Reisen*, II, 45.

³ *ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

countrymen:¹ "I believe that the intelligence of the German, in comparison with the Englishman, is more stifled; and this is to be greatly deplored. The German, for instance, suppresses his laughter under certain circumstances simply because he knows it is the proper thing to do, while the Englishman does not laugh because he sees nothing amusing."

As to the general culture of the English people we have already heard much testimony, and still a great deal more might be presented. Archenholz, for instance, refers to England as the most cultivated nation on the face of the earth,² and Küttner writes:³ "The longer I stay in England and the more general are my observations here, the more I must admire the remarkable civilization of the country and the culture of its citizens." From Taube also we hear in extravagant terms of the enlightenment of the English:⁴ "Here it is a disgrace to be ignorant and to read nothing; in other countries it is often considered an honor. When a farmer, . . . tired out from his day's work, comes home, he takes up a new book and reads it so attentively that he is able to appreciate and intelligently discuss its contents; and the same is true of the English woman."

The Englishman's independence of thought, so striking to the foreigner, was often carried to the extreme of oddity. Every one was more or less a law unto himself, and the tendency seemed to be to exaggerate all natural idiosyncracies. Once more political liberty is held responsible:⁵ "Another effect of their freedom is caprice and humor; and hence their disposition for extraordinaries and peculiarities, in which they sometimes run strange lengths." This idea is enlarged upon in the *Annalen der Brittischen Geschichte*.⁶ "The British spirit of liberty engenders many whimsicalities. These can not be held in check, so long as they are not contrary to the law.

¹ *Urtheile*, etc. *Vermischte Schriften*. Vol. II, p. 120.

² *Annalen*. Vol. III, p. 374.

³ *Beiträge zur Kenntnis . . . von England*. N. A. d. B., Vol. II (1793). pt. 2, p. 612.

⁴ *Abschilderung*, etc. Pt. I, p. 3.

⁵ *Toze's Present State of Europe*. Vol. II, p. 203.

⁶ Vol. I, p. 402.

Conventionality, decorum, public opinion, all receive little or no consideration from people who take pleasure in following their own harmless inclinations. . . . The just or distorted judgment of other people, once it is placed against realities, can neither lessen nor increase the happiness of an intelligent, independent man; a happiness which—even if only imaginary—has for him far more reality than the one-sided, transient thoughts of many moralizers, which, when balanced against real, inner satisfaction, are found to be negligible. In no [other] country in the world is this philosophy practicable to such an extent as in England, and whenever the Britisher commits a strikingly singular deed, he confirms the great maxim: 'Man's own will is his heaven.'"

Many anecdotes illustrative of the whimsicality of the people are to be found throughout Archenholz' voluminous writings on things British. He tells, for instance, of an old lady who had her lap-dog buried as though it had been a human being:¹ "All her servants were required to form a procession to the grave, and, according to the custom at English funerals, they wore white gloves, black silk hat-bands, crepe and other articles of mourning. She herself appeared in deep mourning, which she continued to wear for several weeks." Another case was that of² "the honorable Wortley Montague, brother-in-law to Lord Bute, who, when a child, ran away from his father's house to become a chimney-sweeper. . . . These fantastical actions," concludes Archenholz, "are very frequent in England, and they there pass under the denomination of *whims*." Another of Lichtenberg's interesting comparisons is relevant here:³ "In England original characters are found in society and among the common people in greater number than in the literature. We, on the other hand, have a large number in the *Messkatalog*, few in society and in ordinary life and on the gallows none at all."⁴

¹ *Annalen*, etc. Vol. I, p. 403.

² *Picture of England*. Vol. II, p. 138.

³ *Urtheile*, etc. *Vermischte Schriften*. Vol. II, p. 119.

⁴ Separation from his native land seemed to accentuate the nationality of the Britisher. As a continental tourist he presented his worst side; far from adapting himself to the conditions of his new environment, he deliberately

The Englishman of the eighteenth century usually impressed the foreigner as being of a serious, frequently of a morbid disposition. He was still strongly under the influence of Puritanism, and his piety often bordered on fanaticism. Of this we hear from Goede:¹ "Among all the phenomena which surprise the foreigner in England, the piety of the nation, on account of its effects, remains by far the most remarkable. While in other countries religious indifference, now boldly, now disguised, appears in an honorable form, in England an orthodox fanaticism seems to gain steadily a stronger hold, and while among other nations philosophic Titans take Heaven by storm, the insane asylums of England are filled with those poor wretches who lose their minds in a convulsion of piety or in their zeal for a Christian dogma." This orthodoxy likewise made a deep impression on Archenholz:² "It is surprising that the enlightenment in England, which in the field of science has made such broad strides and dispelled so many prejudices, produces no appreciable change in the attitude toward religion and does not even weaken the adherence to old tradition. We must conclude that freedom itself, which admits of the public profession of every religious opinion, yields a phenomenon which in other countries violence to conscience, tolerance edicts, *auto-da-fés* and dragonades can not produce: true, pious, blind faith of every kind."

That the Englishman took his religion too seriously was not the opinion of Büschel:³ "It is not the belief that this

sought to appear as a unique character. Of this we hear from a nineteenth century writer: "The inhabitants of the insular country who visit the Continent distinguish themselves by their extravagant behaviour, and if an opinion were formed from them of the character, customs and manners of the English people, one would be justified in considering England a large lunatic asylum. At home it occurs to no sensible Englishman to distinguish himself by unusual attire or by conduct which would make him conspicuous in the company of his fellows. In London every cultured man is even more a slave of custom and etiquette than anywhere else, and whimsical personages are held in as much scorn and contempt there as in other countries (Von Weech: *Reise über England* . . . 1823-27. 3 Vols. in 2. München, 1831. Vol. I, p. 81).

¹ *England*, etc. Vol. II, p. 170.

² *Annalen*, etc. Vol. I, p. 326.

³ *Neue Reisen*, p. 48.

life must be given over to a preparation for the future life, but a part of it is devoted to the enjoyment of the present, and—still more important—no one is ashamed to admit this.”

The tourist from the Continent was struck by the strict observance of the Sabbath. So great was the solemnity of the day that a foreigner on his first Sunday in England might easily have believed that some unusual event had made a deep impression on the religious feelings of the people, arousing a spirit of devout penitence.¹ This was a matter of such general knowledge as not to escape Berckenmeyer, limited as his acquaintance with things British was:² “The English are devout observers of the Sabbath: for in England it is not even permissible on Sunday to sell anything, to travel, to play, to sing secular songs, or to touch a musical instrument, unless one wishes to incur a heavy fine.” Moritz was taken to task for his laxity by a twelve year old boy:³ “When I began to hum in his presence some merry tune, he looked at me very thoughtfully and very much surprised and reminded me that it was Sunday. In order not to scandalise him I answered that the confusion incident to my journey had caused me to lose sight of the day.” And thus a German clergyman perjured himself to spare the moral feelings of an English youth.

A causal relation between these remains of Puritanism and the seriousness of the British temperament is pointed out by Archenholz:⁴ “The clergy and the laity who wish to pass for good Christians seem to think that abstaining from all work and worldly affairs on a Sunday entitles them to such denomination. This Judaical and popular custom is supported by a statute which was enacted when Puritanism was in full vigor and which has not a little contributed to that gloomy taciturnity which forms such a conspicuous part of the Englishman’s character.”

On no other point do we find so much difference of opinion as on this “gloomy taciturnity.” In fact, it is not difficult to

¹ Goede’s *England*, etc. Vol. II, p. 187.

² *Neuermehrter Curieuseur Antiquarius*, p. 212.

³ *Reisen . . . in England*, p. 11.

⁴ *Picture of England*. Vol. I, p. 170.

find German writers flatly contradicting their own previous statements on this subject. Archenholz, for instance, after frequent allusions to the extreme gravity of the British,¹ writes in the *Annalen der Britischen Geschichte*:² "It is a mistake to consider the British a sad nation. In no other European country are so many popular celebrations held as in England." In Toze we read of the English³ that "their melancholy disposition makes them discontented and splenetic, though the latter be rather a distemper of the body than the mind, and sometimes terminates in suicide." And this, on the heels of the following statement:⁴ "Good cheer is common among all ranks and a consequence of their happy situation and easy circumstances."

On the occasion of his first visit to France after the Revolution Küttner observed a marked change in the French people. He found them more serious and thoughtful and less polite and cordial to foreigners; in other words, there was more of *das Englische* in their character. This change was attributed in a large measure to the new form of government; in the opinion of Küttner participation in government affairs super-induced serious-mindedness:⁵ "The gloomy, introspective, serious temperament of the Englishman, the silence that has become habitual with him, his indifference toward everything that does not directly concern him, his spirit of restlessness, his jealousy, his suspicion, have become proverbial; of all this the Frenchman will have his share, with the only difference, of course, which a more southern climate, purer air and lighter food will make." With the foregoing opinion we find Goethe in hearty agreement. The Englishman's melancholy views of life, attributable chiefly to his civic responsibilities, had far-reaching effects in Germany:⁶ "Such gloomy contempla-

¹ See for example, *Picture of England*. Vol. I, p. 67.

² Vol. I, p. 438.

³ *Present State of Europe*. Vol. II, p. 205.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 203.

⁵ *Beiträge zur Kenntnis . . . von Frankreich*, p. 99.

⁶ *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. Th. III, Buch 13. Weimar ed. Vol. XXVIII, p. 212. The translation is that of Oxenford: *Autobiography of Goethe*. Revised ed. 2 Vols. London, 1897. Vol. I, p. 504.

tions, which lead him who has resigned himself to them into the infinite, would not have developed themselves so decidedly in the minds of the German youths had not an outward occasion excited and furthered in them this dismal business. This was caused by English literature, especially the poetical part, the great beauties of which are accompanied by an earnest melancholy, which it communicates to everyone who occupies himself with it. The intellectual Briton, from his youth up, sees himself surrounded by a significant world, which stimulates all his powers; he perceives sooner or later that he must collect all his understanding to come to terms with it. How many of their poets have in their youth led a loose and riotous life, and soon found themselves justified in complaining of the vanity of all earthly things? How many of them have tried their fortune in worldly occupations, have taken parts, principal or subordinate, in Parliament, at court, in the ministry, in situations with the embassy, shown their active cooperation in the internal troubles and changes of state and government, and, if not in themselves, at least in their friends and patrons, more frequently made sad than pleasant experiences! How many have been banished, imprisoned, or injured with respect to property! Even the circumstance of being the spectator of such great events calls man to seriousness; and whither can seriousness lead further than to a contemplation of the transient nature and worthlessness of all things?"

Pöllnitz found a melancholy temperament common to almost all Englishmen,¹ and Goede accepted their seriousness as inevitable.² "Among all nations which have, on account of the sanctity of certain ideas, continually held themselves to a uniform course, seriousness is deeply ingrained in the character." Here again Wendeborn dissents:³ "Sadness and melancholy are said to be innate with the inhabitants of this island. I do not believe it. They are all pleasure-lovers, although everyone is guided in his choice of amusements by his own imagination and his own ridiculous whims. . . . The Eng-

¹ *Memoirs*. Vol. III, p. 287.

² *England*, etc. Vol. II, p. 277.

³ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. II, pp. 281-83.

lish have changed during the course of this century; one can no longer say that their blood is blacker and heavier than that of other peoples." Another German who found the English more cheerful, merrier and livelier than they were usually represented to be by tourists, was Heinrich von Watzdorf,¹ who visited England in 1784 and returned home to vie with Archenholz in singing that country's praises. And we might go on presenting testimony on both sides of this disputed case; but it would not alter our conclusion that the Englishman of the eighteenth century was regarded by his German contemporaries as being in general over-serious and frequently of a morbid, melancholy temperament. That this impression underwent some modification toward the end of the century is evident, due, it may be, to some extent, to such a change as Wendeborn thought he saw in the Englishman, but perhaps still more to a better acquaintance between the two countries.

This much talked-of melancholy resulted in suicide so frequently as to create the impression that life was held in comparatively slight regard in England. Throughout the voluminous *Annalen der Britischen Geschichte* we read numerous accounts of suicide, but its author maintained that this evil was quite as common in Paris as in London.² In 1727 Haller writes:³ "Suicide is somewhat less common [than formerly], although these people, who go to extremes in everything and usually pay toll to folly at least once [der Narrheit einen Zoll abgiebt . . .], sometimes, on very slight pretexts, take their own lives; and nobody pays much attention to it." Especially baffling to Pöllnitz was this British propensity:⁴

¹ *Briefe zur Charakteristik von England*, etc. Leipzig, 1786. A. L. Z., 1787, Vol. I, No. 4, section 30. Ten years later in the same periodical (1797, Vol. IV, No. 314, section 14) we again read a denial of the assertion that the English are of a sterner, gloomier disposition than people of other nationalities.

² *Picture of England*. Vol. I, p. 177. Such was not the belief of Wendeborn, who observed that the French *émigrés* in London and Hamburg made the best of their unhappy circumstances. . . . "The Englishman would perhaps have resorted to a pistol or a rope, where Frenchmen, singing, awaited better times" (*Erinnerungen*. p. 299).

³ *Tagebücher*, etc., p. 129.

⁴ *Memoirs*. Vol. III, p. 292.

"'Tis one of the distinguishing characters of an Englishman to be intrepid in the matter of death. We are forbid by religion to approve of that contempt of life, yet we can't help admiring it in the Romans, from whom the English have no doubt derived the practice of putting an end to their days, when life is a burden to them. These self-murders are but too frequent here and are committed by persons of good families, as well as by the dregs of the people. . . . You must agree with me in the impossibility of accounting for such a strange, odd turn of mind in these people, for, in short, other nations don't seem by their action to have any more religion than the English, and they are equally sensible to misfortunes; yet one rarely hears of a foreigner making an attempt on himself."

The depressing climate of England was not without its effects on the people. Lichtenberg tells us what was to be expected of them on gloomy days:¹ "The Englishman draws his overcoat collar over his nose and slinks along, lost in his whims; some prophesy, others mend their ways and others shoot themselves. . . . Lucky is he who, under such a heavy sky, has a clear conscience and is not in love, at least not with bad prospects; otherwise he cuts his throat, as did Lord Clive, shoots himself, as my neighbor did recently, or hangs himself, as a pretty young girl of sixteen did last Saturday." But Volkmann looked elsewhere for an explanation of the frequency of suicide. Courage and contempt of death, in his opinion, were erroneously taken as the causes:² "Would it not be more reasonable to hold the customary education responsible? A man who, from youth up, has been unaccustomed to hold his desires in check and who is without any religious principles, as is unfortunately most often the case in England, easily reaches the determination to end a discontented life." More frequently do we encounter views on this point similar to those of Büschel.³ According to him, the prospect of being hanged did not check the robber in his thefts; almost daily he saw some companion strung up, and

¹ *Briefe*. Vol. I, p. 204. Jan. 10, 1775, to Baldinger.

² *Neueste Reisen*. Vol. I, p. 32.

³ *Neue Reisen*, etc., p. 65.

he came to look upon such an exit from the world simply as being less painful than a natural death. Therefore it had no terrors for him. "In addition there is the general inclination of this people toward melancholy, the contempt of life which has already, in a moment of despondency, armed many a good Englishman against himself, leading him to take his own life almost without knowing why."

There seemed to be no decrease in the number of suicides toward the end of the century; on the contrary, we learn from a letter written September 18, 1796, to the *Merkur*¹ that the evil was becoming more prevalent, and that the debating societies of London were giving it their attention in their discussions of the serious problems of the day.

¹ November, 1796. p. 315.

CHAPTER VII

INDIVIDUAL BRITISH TYPES

The wholesomeness and the frank, open nature of the English youth created on the foreigner a very favorable impression. The freedom which the Englishman enjoyed, even from early childhood, was sometimes held accountable for a sort of wildness and savagery in his nature—a sort of Storm-and-Stress element—but this, if it appeared at all, was usually a transitory fault which was overcome in early manhood. “The English youth,” as he appears to Goede,¹ “is characterized by charming candor and ingenuous good-cheer.” Even in the small child the beneficent effects of English environment are apparent to Moritz:² “Despite the growing mania for new fashions, one remains true to nature here up to certain years. What a contrast when I think of our six year old pale, pampered Berlin boys with their large hair-bags [Haarbeutel] and the full dress of an adult, their suits perhaps even trimmed with lace, and, on the other hand, of the vigorous, slender, robust boys with bare throat and closely cut, curly locks, that are seen here! Very rarely do we encounter here a boy or a young man with a pale complexion, misshapen features and badly proportioned limbs. With us the contrary is really something unusual; otherwise, handsome people, would not be so striking.”

The spirit of independence is seen to advantage in the English youth. Of this we learn from Wendeborn:³ “In England the constitution—as well as the people—is, above all, for freedom. The country boy feels it, and he is told that he is free. A cringing respect for the great and the rich is not instilled into children so much as in other countries. . . . The

¹ *England*, etc. Vol. I, p. 205.

² *Reisen . . . in England*, p. 49.

³ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. II, p. 240.

strictness is by no means comparable with that which is found in other countries. It is my belief that many Englishmen pass through the years of childhood and youth without ever receiving blows." From the same source we have an enthusiastic eulogy of the young Englishman:¹ "I have on many occasions made the observation that a young Englishman, regardless of his apparent wildness and rusticity, when he approaches his twenty-fifth year, becomes more restrained [sittsamer] and knows how to demean himself with a frankness and good grace for which we often search in vain among young men of other nationalities. He usually holds to a happy medium between the affected frankness and the empty politeness of the French, and between the carefully studied bearing and the awkwardness which many Germans—even those who consider themselves people of culture—betray in their intercourse." Not less admirable does the youth appear to Küttner:² "Generally speaking the English boy possesses in a high degree good-nature, a sense of fairness and love of justice, and he acquires in the English schools, above all else, those social virtues which have most influence on every-day life and the absence of which is the cause of the greatest part of human misery. . . . The strictness with which the laws are enforced, especially in the public schools, accustoms him, in the course of time, with all his love of freedom, to a punctilious observance of the laws." And especially generous is the tribute of one Hüttner to the younger sons who left home, often as early as their eleventh year, to go to sea:³ "It is astonishing how different the English boy is here from those of other nations; he is not in the least embarrassed or homesick, and it is very seldom that he becomes puffed up over this independence. With a hearty *good-bye* he shakes the hands of the friends he is leaving and is as happy on the unfamiliar element as in the cultured home of his father, surrounded by all that makes life attractive."

¹ *ibid.*, p. 243.

² *Beiträge . . . von England*. N. A. d. B. Vol. XXIV (1796), pt. 1, p. 145.

³ *Der Neue teutsche Merkur*. July, 1797, p. 222. (From an essay, "Ein Paar Züge zum Gemähde des brittischen Seemanns," pp. 219-237.)

Thoroughly compatible was the character of the young Englishman with the demands of the Storm and Stress dramatists. To the Englishmen in their plays they give a full measure of the "apparent wildness" to which Wendeborn refers, and an even more fiery nature than the average youth of their creation possessed. A striking example is Robert Hot, the hero of Lenz' *Der Engländer*, who reveals something of his vehemence at the very *out-break* of the play: "Ah! what would one not do for you, Armida? It is cold. Yet an eternal fire is burning in this breast. I glow as if before a smelting furnace, when I raise my eyes to that red curtain. There she sleeps, there she is slumbering right now, it may be. Oh! to be the pillow that cradles her cheek!" Not without significance is the fact that the play which gave its name to this entire movement in German literature, while its scene is in America, is peopled with Englishmen, and all of them, even to the sexagenarians, Berkley and Bushy, are constantly at fever-heat. None of the others, however, quite come up to the temperature of La Feu, who, despite his name, is a native Londoner:¹ "I am in love again throughout my whole body, in my veins and bones, in my entire soul. I am so hot I fear I may blow up like a bomb—and then if my pure being might only be elevated and lodge itself in the charming lady's bosom!"

Of such high-spirited youths it is to be expected that they should be good soldiers, and such was the case, as all German writers attested. The most essential quality of a good soldier, fearlessness of death, the Englishman was said to possess in a high degree. "Vor dem Tod zittert der Engländer nicht," says Büschel;² and similar was the testimony of many Germans both before and after his time. Pöllnitz, for instance, writes:³ "Here wounds go for nothing, and death itself is but little dreaded. I fancy the English are descended from Mutius Scaevola, because like that Roman they despise pain." Likewise, Wendeborn:⁴ "Courage is also a characteristic of

¹ Klinger. *Sturm und Drang*, Act III, Scene 1.

² *Neue Reisen*, etc., p. 74.

³ *Memoirs*. Vol. III, p. 303.

⁴ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. II, p. 275.

the English, but this they possess in common with other peoples. Yet it is probably safe to assert that they surpass others in that they have the least fear of death. Of this the battles and naval combats of the English are sufficient proof."

While the Englishman was invariably pronounced a good soldier, he was said to require more urgently than the soldier of other nations good food and favorable living conditions. "The English are good soldiers, especially when well provided for and soon brought to action," writes Busching,¹ the geographer. And likewise from Achenwall² we hear that "the Englishman serves equally well as cavalryman and as infantryman, but he insists on being well paid and well fed."

By Volkmann and Wendeborn we are told what to expect should the English find themselves lined up against the Prussians. "Their soldiers," according to Volkmann,³ "are in the first attack fiery and brave, especially when they have good fare; but the free Englishman can not be forced to take orders, so it is not likely that they could hold out in the long run against a Prussian army." Similar was the view of Wendeborn:⁴ "Of the English troops it may be said in general that they are courageous and are good soldiers, especially when they have good food and drink. . . . From what I saw there [at a review of English troops] and have seen in Prussia, I am inclined to conclude that a number of English troops would not hold out long against an equal number of Prussians, although the English in their national pride consider their troops the best in the world."

The British Navy could not fail to arouse general admiration even in the eighteenth century. To Volkmann⁵ "the brave deeds of the English at sea are proofs of their courage, of their valor and of their contempt of death." Though prompted by no rivalry between Germany and England, Busching takes the pains as early as the middle of the century

¹ Busching, A. F. *Neue Erdbeschreibung*. Hamburg, 1769-1773. Part II, Vol. II, p. 1297.

² *Staatsverfassung*, etc. Pt. I, p. 358.

³ *Neueste Reisen*, etc. Vol. I, p. 86.

⁴ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. I, p. 86.

⁵ *Neueste Reisen*, etc. Vol. I, p. 31.

to present a definite estimate of the sea-strength of the British:¹ "The English Navy was scarce ever in a better condition than at present, insomuch that no state in Europe has anything like it. The reader must necessarily be astonished to find that in the year 1748 the naval strength of Great Britain consisted of two hundred and forty-five men of war from the first to the sixth rates, or from one hundred to twenty-four guns, fifty-five sloops of war, nine bomb-vessels, five fire-ships and seven yachts." That English sailors excelled those of other nations was the belief of Wendeborn,² and this he held to be due to their obedience, a virtue which, as we have just seen, Volkmann denied the free Englishman.³ "Whenever I have been on German, Dutch or English ships, I have observed the visible effects of education even upon seamen. If the English sailor is ordered by the captain to climb the mast, the captain has scarcely ceased speaking before the sailor has thrown his hat and wig—if he is wearing them—on the deck and is already half way up the mast; the German or the Dutchman, on the other hand, first takes a good while to fasten his hat or cap securely on his head, to button up his jacket and to measure the height of the mast a few times with his eyes."

No German who wrote of the English sailor could have known him better than did Hüttner, since he was himself three years in the British Navy. He maintains that⁴ "if the Britisher is really what he himself believes he is in Europe—and what we other nations so often scornfully deny—his sailor is particularly worthy of our attention." This writer goes on to praise the manliness of the youthful Britisher who gave up all the comforts of a luxurious home to go to sea, where he was subjected to the severest discipline and suffered without complaint every kind of hardship. This trying life, while it was not always beneficial to his morals, instilled into

¹ *Neue Erdbeschreibung*. Part II, Vol. II, p. 1297 (The passage quoted is from the anonymous translation of an earlier edition than the one referred to above, *A New System of Geography*. 6 Vols. London, 1762. Vol. III, p. 251).

² *Zustand*, etc. Vol. IV, p. 194 (footnote).

³ *Der Neue teutsche Merkur*. July, 1797, p. 220.

him above all the greatest pride in personal bravery and the most profound reverence for the traditions of the navy.¹

To the English nobility Georg Forster refers² as "the nobility of the first land in the world, a nobility to which merit invariably paves the way." Public spirit and generosity were commoner virtues among British noblemen than among those of other countries, and they were honored especially for the patronage they gave to the arts and sciences and for their philanthropy. Furthermore, as Wendeborn reminds us, they could count among their own number many men of sound and lasting intellectual attainments.³ "It is no little honor to the English nobility that so many among them have distinguished themselves as scholars, as authors, as patrons of the muses. The names of a Lord Bacon, Shaftesbury, Bolingbroke, Burlington, Pembroke, Orerry, Littleton, Pomfret, Chesterfield and of many others are familiar enough in the realm of the arts and sciences."⁴ But this writer, following the universal tendency to hark back to the good old days, felt obliged to add that in his own time England could boast of no such illustrious names, for the nobility had become more absorbed "in dressing fantastically and in attending shows, mummeries, chases, horse-races and similar amusements."

As to the pride of the nobility Wendeborn likewise has some

¹ A certain custom, on account of its inconsistency with British ways in general, was quite incomprehensible to the German; namely, the empressment of seamen. Wendeborn is one of many who discuss it: "A group of ten or more sailors known as a press-gang, armed with large clubs and hunting knives go, under the leadership of an officer, through the streets and often into taverns and disorderly houses and, without more ado, seize those whom they consider fit to become sailors. . . . I know of no way in which this empressment of seamen is to be reconciled with the boasted freedom of the English." (*Zustand*, etc. Vol. I, p. 91.) Johann Peter Hebel makes this the motif of a short story, "*Merkwürdige Schicksale eines jungen Engländers*" (*Bibliothek der deutschen Klassiker*, Vol. X, p. 678, ff.).

² *Ansichten*, etc., p. 369.

³ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. I, p. 35.

⁴ A half century later Friedrich Raumer writes: "The significance of the English aristocracy appears in a very different light when I see the halls adorned with Raphael's and Titian's masterpieces rather than with receipts for interest paid on mortgages." (*England*. 3 Vols. Leipzig, 1842. Vol. II, p. 156.)

interesting observations:¹ "Among the English nobility pride is encountered again and again, but far less than abroad among people of similar rank. . . . Abroad, those of the nobility who are attached to courts are outwardly more affable, more polite and more disposed to unconstrained intercourse than those who pass their life remote from large cities. Here in England it seems to be the reverse. The majority of those who have to do with the court and of those who belong to the party which happens to be at the helm of the government are proud and often as haughty as any little local tyrants in other countries can be; on the other hand, the noblemen and aristocrats who have not much to do with the court and do not often come into contact with it, are sociable, affable and polite and seem to forget in their intercourse with those who are lower in the social scale, that their own birth has placed them in a higher position." The natural deduction from all this is that the eighteenth century Englishman, when left to himself, was more democratic than the average European.

So advantageous did certain features of the English system of nobility appear to Justus Möser that he wished to see them introduced in his own country. In his essay, *Warum bildet sich der deutsche Adel nicht nach dem Englischen*,² he commended these features to his fellow-countrymen. In the status of the younger sons of noble parentage he saw the chief point of superiority in the English system. Such young Englishmen were at liberty to follow any pursuit whatever, since they belonged only potentially to the nobility, but were in reality of the gentry; whereas in Germany each son was a nobleman and was required to maintain the traditions of the nobility. The proposed plan is summed up in two points:³ (a) "The nobility and in general all servants of the crown are in no event to engage in trade or business. (b) But those [merely] of noble birth may do so without compromising their right of succession to a noble title [Adelsfähigkeit]. And so we would be on the very road which the English have made their high-

¹ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. I, p. 36.

² *Patriotische Phantasien. Sämmtliche Werke*. Berlin, 1842-43. Pt. IV, pp. 236-247.

³ *ibid.*, p. 241.

way. One does not lose his *Adelsfähigkeit* there by seeking to earn his bread in any honorable way; one chooses this, another, that course; and it is by no means unusual to find the eldest brother in the upper house, the second in the lower house and the third in the stock-exchange. He who does not actually hold a noble title [Kronwürde] is deprived of all the privileges of nobility; he ranks no higher than another, but is honored simply as a man who may, either by heredity or by royal appointment, attain to a title of nobility."¹

One German tourist who had no praise for the English nobility was Riem.² He characterized them as lazy, indolent, haughty and thievish and was of the opinion that princes would be fully justified in having the "low, slavish rabble of nobility which creeps around their throne like poisonous vermin and soils the glory of the most splendid crown, driven by bailiffs and catchpolls to all the devils." But this is a tirade against noblemen in general rather than against the English exclusively. Nor did Jean Paul exclude other nationalities from a share in the qualities he suggested as characterizing the English lord in his *Hesperus*:³ "He regards mankind as an apparatus for experiments, as so much hunting-gear, war-material, knitting-work: such men look upon heaven only as the keyboard to earth and the soul as orderly-sergeant of the body; they carry on wars, not for the sake of winning crowns of oak-leaves, but to secure the oak soil and the acorns; they prefer the successful man to the deserving one; they break oaths and hearts to serve the state; they respect

¹ But even in England the problem of the younger sons was serious enough, if we may rely on the inexhaustible Wendeborn: "For money and positions they will do anything, and their dependence on the government always makes of them dangerous enemies of the freedom of the people. He who has received an education (as the unhappy phrase goes) conformable to his rank, he who has been accustomed from his youth up to all fashionable follies and excesses, will consequently, in order to live in conformity with his rank, do anything to obtain money and to continue his life in idleness and sensuality." (*Zustand*, etc. Vol. I, p. 43.)

² A. L. Z. 1800. Vol. IV, No. 300, section 162.

³ Jean Paul's *Sämmtliche Werke*. 34 Vols. Berlin, 1861. Vol. V, pt. 1, p. 206. The translation is that of Charles Q. Brooks: *Hesperus*. 2 Vols. Boston, 1865. Vol. I, p. 235.

poetry, philosophy and religion but as means; they respect riches, statistics of national prosperity and health but as objects; all they honor about pure Mathesis and pure female virtue is the transformation of each into impure for manufactures and armies; in the higher astronomy all they care for is the transformation of sums into odometers and way-marks for pepper-fleets, and in the most exalted *magister legens* they seek only an alluring tavern sign for poor universities."

As the democracy of the English prevented the nobleman from losing touch with the people, it likewise elevated the commoner to a higher level than that on which he stood in other countries, so that the continental visitor was struck with the absence of the sharp class distinctions to which he had been accustomed. "In England," writes Goede,¹ "the ideal of the gentleman is common to all classes. No occupation, no trade ostracizes a man, alters his social status, or deprives him of recognition." Archenholz calls attention to the effects of political liberty on the lower classes.² "It is not according to our ideas that we ought to calculate the space that separates the different classes of men in that monarchico-republican government. This observation extends even to servants. The first man in the kingdom is cautious of striking his domestics; for they may not only defend themselves against him, but also commence an action in a court of justice. . . . Those will be much deceived who may from thence imagine that an English footman will consequently be impertinent. On the contrary, I am convinced that no part of Europe abounds with better domestics."³ This writer would have us believe that

¹ *England*, etc. Vol. II, p. 271.

² *Picture of England*. Vol. II, p. 116.

³ A striking contradiction of this statement is presented by Weisse in his *Freundschaft auf der Probe*. The play is an adaptation of Marmontel's *L'amitié à l'épreuve* (*Oeuvres complètes*. Paris, 1818. Vol. IV. *Contes Moraux*. pp. 145-195), and the only character in Weisse's play who does not figure in the original story—nor does he appear in the English version, Hugh Kelly's *Romance of an Hour* (London, 1774)—is Woodbe; this servant may be taken, accordingly, to represent truly a German conception of his class. His impertinence knows no bounds; he does not hesitate to press his suit for Corally's hand as the rival

the intelligence of the English, of which we have already heard much, was shared even by the lowest classes;¹ "It has been observed that the common people in England are more intelligent and judicious than in any other country. The free and unrestricted manner in which they speak and write on every subject is the real cause of this. One is astonished to hear some of the very lowest of the populace reason concerning the laws, the right of property, privileges, etc." Another to touch on this point is Goede:² "Common craftsmen as a class not only appear more prosperous in England than in other countries, but also betray in their whole exterior a far higher degree of culture. How refined is the speech of the English craftsmen! How eminently respectable do they appear in their domestic life! Particularly apparent is their culture in their relations with dependents. Every foreigner who has an opportunity to see how politely the masters treat their apprentices and workmen, will have to confess that this relationship could not be more dignified." Yet this tourist did not overlook the fact that there was an element of the people which did not share the virtues common to the nation as a whole.³ "It is certainly not to be denied that patriotism and public spirit find unmistakable expression even in the poorest class of respectable citizens; but among the English populace, the dregs of the nation, not the slightest trace of such qualities is to be perceived. This wild horde of barbarians has no native land; they are blind to the privileges of English citizenship."

Of the leveling effects of democracy we hear from Wendeborn:⁴ "Here the common man thinks about a great many things pertaining to social duties, justice and other things of Lord Nelson. At one time he interrupts a *l'le-à-l'le* between Corally and Lord Nelson and says to the latter: "I beg your pardon. I had forgotten for the moment that you still represented the master of the house." (Act I, scene 6). But Woodbe was encouraged in his insolence by his master, Blandford, who says to him: "Out with it! You know that I like for my servants to be frank." (Act II, scene 6.)

¹ *Picture of England*. Vol. I, p. 60.

² *England, etc.* Vol. II, p. 344.

³ *ibid.*, p. 365.

⁴ *Zustand, etc.* Vol. II, p. 287.

that influence the happiness of life just as clearly as the scholar and the man who considers himself a philosopher in other countries. Hence the prejudice of rank has little weight here. . . . Hence people who think that their honor is injured, or that they are not paid sufficient respect, are not heard, as in many other countries, to exclaim: Such an aristocratic, wealthy man as I! Such a noble, honorable or wise gentleman! No, the most aristocratic Englishman knows that his fellow-countrymen are, like himself, free, that they have human intelligence and that they think; hence an English general who returns home at the end of a successful campaign is quite as unassuming as before; hence a Lord Clive, who saw Moguls and Nabobs humble themselves before him and who in the Orient was a despot, was in England nothing more than another Englishman; and he before whom India bowed, saw himself compelled to humble himself before his fellow-citizens, for he knew very well that they did not think as East Indians."

The impression made on foreign visitors by English extravagance was discussed in connection with a consideration of economic conditions in England.¹ Especially striking to Schütz was the lack of concern on the part of the laboring class for the future:² "Nowhere [else] does the common man know so little about economy as in England. The seamen, for instance, who sail on the Thames receive good wages and, to judge from their appearance, are prosperous people, yet most of them beg when the Thames is frozen over. In Germany the common man is distinguished from the aristocrat by his means of subsistence, but in England there is no difference with respect to bread, other provisions or even amusements. The seaman on the Thames wears just as fine clothing and just as fine linen as the peer of the kingdom. So it is no wonder that the common man must suffer want when his income stops." Anyone accustomed all his life to the thriftiness of the German people could not have failed to note the relative lack of this virtue when he visited England, but that even there examples of the utmost frugality and the most careful economy might be

¹ See above, p. 28, ff.

² N. A. d. B. Vol. V (1793), pt. I, p. 279.

found was the experience of Georg Forster on his travels through Gloucestershire:¹ "A woman of this region who was traveling with us, pointed out to us several farmers of her acquaintance who live by the roadside and who have a yearly income of four or five hundred pounds sterling. But they wear very rustic clothing, tend their cattle and feed it; their wives and daughters milk and make cheese. Many farms in this region have seventy or more cows, and in a family of ten children only one maid is kept. The residences of the country people in this province have a mean, neglected appearance and are by no means in keeping with their wealth."

When the German tourist undertook to record his impression of the English woman, he was seldom at a loss for something to say. Her reputation for beauty seems to have been well known in Germany, and almost without exception her charms were found to exceed the visitor's highest expectations. Berckenmeyer does not altogether overlook the fair sex in his *Curieuseur Antiquarius*; already he saw the beginnings of woman suffrage:² "In England the woman loves freedom to such an extent that she often contests with men for rule. And the over-great adoration which they enjoy on account of their beauty, has given rise to the proverb, 'England is woman's paradise.' . . . On this account the Italians are accustomed to say: 'If there were a bridge across the English Channel, all the women of Europe would run over.'" On the authority of Pöllnitz we have it that a great many Englishmen "hang themselves purely for love. I own to you," he confesses,³ "that if I were so forsaken by God as to commit such a foolish prank, it should be for an English woman. They have in my opinion such an air of modesty and good-nature and withal such a bashful simplicity as charm me, and such tender, languishing eyes, too, as tho' not universally pleasing, yet captivate me to such a degree that if I was but twenty years of age, I should have gone much astray. Most of the English women are handsome; they have the finest hair in

¹ *Ansichten*, etc., p. 394.

² p. 210.

³ *Memoirs*. Vol. III, p. 293.

the world and are only obliged to pure nature for the beauty of their complexions. . . . They say that among the good qualities of the women here, they are equally susceptible themselves of the passion of love, which they are so apt to kindle in the men. This is very good and perfectly natural; for in my opinion nothing is so ill becoming to the fair sex as hard-heartedness."

No German writer seems to have been more susceptible to the charms of the English woman than was Lichtenberg. Upon his arrival in England two things, above all, attracted his attention:¹ "The swiftness, readiness and accuracy with which everything desired is done; and the large number of pretty girls. Even the most ordinary of them are so pretty that anyone who can not fully trust himself on this score must stay away from England. They know how to enhance their beauty by their dress; in such attire the most ordinary German servant-girl would appear pretty."² In a letter to his friend, Johann Christian Dietrich, Lichtenberg is still more outspoken in his praise:³ "As soon as he sets foot on English soil (provided, of course, that he has something more than feet) the student, as well as the philosopher and the book-dealer, is immediately struck by the extraordinary beauty of the women, and this impression becomes gradually stronger the nearer he gets to London. For the man who is not quite sure of this side of his nature, I know but a single course; Let him take the next packet-boat back to Holland; there he will be out of danger. I have seen a great many beautiful women in my day, but since I have been in England I have seen more than in all the rest of my life together, yet I have been in England only ten days." That he was far from complimentary to the women of his own country Lichtenberg was somewhat painfully aware; he lays upon his friend the following injunction: "Meanwhile, I forbid your inserting

¹ *Bruchstücke aus dem Tagebuch*, etc. *Vermischte Schriften*. Vol. III, p. 273.

² With this opinion Pöllnitz did not concur: "They are commonly very richly dressed, but not altogether in the taste of the French ladies, which is the only fault I find with 'em. They seem to affect dressing to their disadvantage." (*Memoirs*, etc. Vol. III, p. 293.)

³ *Briefe*. Vol. I, p. 11—London, April 19, 1770.

this report on English women in the *Gothaischer Calendar*, not on my account, but on account of German women. The ladies of Lima may be praised to them quite freely, but the English woman is somewhat too near to them. We read in history that the Saxons once invaded England in great numbers. Very profound political causes have been given by way of explanation, but this is quite unnecessary; the good Saxons were running away from their wives. But not a word of my description in the *Calendar!*"

Not less ardent was the enthusiasm of Archenholz:¹ "Of all the remarkable objects which England offers to the eye of a foreigner, no one is more worthy of his admiration than the astonishing beauty of the women. It produces such a surprising effect that every stranger must acknowledge the superiority of the English ladies over all others. The most exact proportions, an elegant figure, a lovely neck, a skin uncommonly fine and features at once regular and charming distinguish them in an eminent degree." Especially charming did English women appear to Büschel when they indulged in one of their chief amusements, riding on horse-back:² "With an indescribable grace they ride horse-back. Every one who has a sense and appreciation of the beautiful will be ready to agree with me that his heart leaps with joy whenever he sees a beautiful Englishwoman in her riding habit, with high, waving plumes on her hat, riding by as lightly and carelessly as if she had never done anything else."

It was Wendeborn's opinion that the women of England well deserved the reputation of being more beautiful than those of any other country.³ Nor was this all he could say on their behalf:⁴ "I must say to the credit of the English women in general that they are good mothers, that most of them love cleanliness, that they have a compassionate heart and that they have by no means either the affectation or the stiffness of bearing that we meet with so frequently elsewhere.

¹ *Picture of England*. Vol. II, p. 132.

² *Neue Reisen*, etc., p. 42.

³ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. II, p. 304.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 306.

They are more natural, and, accordingly, more pleasing and captivating."

But we are not to believe that the foreigner was altogether blind to the Englishwoman's faults.¹ Even Berckenmeyer has some rather harsh criticism:² "In two respects English women openly violate good form; first, they go driving and to wine-taverns with men whom they scarcely know; secondly, they smoke tobacco." Nor was Hassel, who wrote toward the end of the century, altogether complimentary:³ "Women play the leading rôles at the faro-tables, ride like postillions and go driving with four horses and long whips." And we even find one German who was unwilling to acknowledge that English women surpassed all others in beauty—but he wrote anonymously:⁴ "I can not see in them the great and universal beauty of which other tourists have so much to say. In comparison with the women of Italy how different they are in figure and coloring; and with those of France, in pleasant, natural bearing and in dress.—But there is here a certain type of beauty," even this dissenter admits, "which I have found nowhere else; one sees many girls with a very fair complexion and red hair which is so brilliant that its beauty cannot be denied. Such were the girls, doubtless, whom our forefathers once honored as the greatest beauties." From Forster we hear the following adverse criticism:⁵ "Few people are able to assume dignity without giving themselves the appearance of coldness and disregard of others; and her dignity the English woman must maintain above all things, even at the cost of falling into the most intolerable prudery." That the average woman did not attempt to measure up to very strict intellectual requirements may be deduced from what Küttner writes:⁶ "A learned woman is so little sought after and esteemed in England that the wealthier and wiser

¹ See, for example, Wendeborn (*Zustand*, Vol. II, pp. 310-313).

² *Neuermehrter Curieuser Antiquarius*, p. 211.

³ N. A. d. B. Vol. II (1793), pt. 2, p. 326.

⁴ *Teutscher Merkur*. May, 1785, p. 192 (Letter from London, March 25, 1785).

⁵ *Ansichten*, etc., p. 397.

⁶ *Beiträge zur Kenntnis . . . von England*. A. L. Z. 1797. No. 384, section 572.

ladies of intellectual attainments attempt to conceal their knowledge. If it is said of a woman, 'She is a blue-stocking,' half our sex is frightened away from her."

One practice was found to be strikingly out of keeping with the high position of women in England; namely, that of disposing of a wife who had ceased to be a desirable member of the family. Of this practice Archenholz cites numerous examples. In his *Annalen* we read:¹ "Never was the sale of wives so common as now. Scenes of this kind, formerly so rare, are now becoming very common. On the market-place at Oxford a workman, Hawkins, sold his wife to a man for five shillings; he led her, as usual, by a rope which he held in his hand until he had pocketed the money; then he gave the rope to the new husband, wished him much happiness and went his way. A similar scene occurred in Essex, where a man sold his wife together with two children for half a crown. The ceremony was accompanied by music, and the mother had to march three times around the market-square at Matching-Green with the rope around her neck."

Of the provincial Britisher as distinguished from the Englishman proper—that is, in most cases, the Londoner—we do not learn a great deal from eighteenth century German writers. They freely employ the term *der Brite*, it is true, but ordinarily it does not seem to have with them a different connotation from that of the term *der Engländer*. The foreigner's impressions of Great Britain were based largely on his acquaintance with the life of the capital; in fact, London seems to have received as much of his attention as all the rest of the kingdom combined. That such a restriction of the field of observation did not preclude the possibility of forming an accurate opinion of the people is convincingly maintained by an anonymous writer in the *Neues Göttingisches Historisches Magazin*:² "I flatly deny the assertion heard so often in Germany that London is not the place to become acquainted with the customs and character of the English. Anyone who becomes extensively acquainted comes to know people from all counties

¹ Vol. V, p. 329.

² Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 194 (Letter from London, March 12, 1791).

of England who live in the city quite in the same way as they lived previously, or as they still live during the summer in the country. They themselves maintain that they are even less hampered in London than on their country estates." But the tourist did not fail to note a contrast between the Londoner and the provincial:¹ "The farther we go from London into the country, the purer we find the air and the customs. The people become more polite, more affable and more sociable. Wealth and extravagance are less in evidence, although the inhabitants of the country, almost everywhere, seem to enjoy contentment and the fruits of a noble freedom."

A number of the German *Reisebeschreiber* extended their travels throughout Great Britain, but when they made a brief tour of Scotland, Ireland or Wales, they were more attentive to the physical appearance of the country than to the peculiarities of the people, and, in fact, had little to say about either the one or the other.² When we take up, for instance, Goede's substantial work on *England, Wales, Irland und Schottland* we very reasonably expect to learn what at least one German thought of each of the four British countries, but we are disappointed to find that the entire five volumes, with the exception of the last two chapters of the fifth, are devoted exclusively to England. At length, in the last chapter but two [Vol. V, p. 316] we come to Wales; and we do not reach Ireland until the last page of the book. Scotland is a promised land to which we are not admitted; this country appears in the title, apparently, only to produce a balanced effect. On the Welsh, however, Goede presents some interesting comments:³ "If he [the tourist in Wales] expected simply to go into another province of the same country, he is astonished to find himself among a foreign people which appears in language, physical characteristics, customs and manners in sharp contrast with the English. This is true,

¹ Wendeborn: *Zustand*, etc. Vol. II, p. 237.

² This complaint is made, for instance, of Volkmann, who is "very brief and meager concerning Wales, but," his critic claims, "through no fault of his own. Surprisingly little has been written about this country, although it is much toured." N. A. d. B., Vol. II (1793), pt. 2, p. 611.

³ *England*, etc. Vol. V, p. 317.

however, only of the lower and middle classes in North Wales.¹ People of rank and fortune in these regions are said to be distinguished from the English by nothing save the virtue—much rarer among the latter—of hospitality. But it is not to be denied that the common people of North Wales in comparison with the English are in a very much lower state of civilization. That spirit of profitable enterprise, which finds its chief delight in the ideal of domestic prosperity, of civic honor and independence and which secures to helpless old age the enjoyment of well-earned tranquility, has not yet penetrated from England's blooming plains into these mountains." This tourist noted a striking contrast in temperament between the two sexes:² "The men of North Wales appear rather lazy and phlegmatic than active and lively; the women, on the other hand, are very animated and talkative."

Wendeborn found British credulity somewhat intensified among the Welsh.³ "I have seen many a Welshman, or native of Wales, who became quite indignant, if it were doubted that in his native country there could be seen at night funeral processions starting out in regular formation from the house in which someone was to die a few days later." Another quality which, in the opinion of Küttner,⁴ the Welsh possessed in a higher degree than other Britishers, was that of pride: "The Welsh are very proud and consider themselves far superior to other Englishmen, whom they look on as an ignoble mixture of Saxons, Danes and Normans." As to the appearance of the people, Küttner writes:⁵ "The Southern Welshman has a distinctive build. All the country people are short and stout and have full faces radiant with health, and blooming, cherry-colored cheeks. Yet they seem to have less animation than health; on the contrary, there seems to be something dull and serious about them."

¹ Elsewhere Goede broadens this assertion on the authority of others: "I have seen none of the largest Welsh cities, but I have been assured that from them the traces of Welsh nationality have almost entirely disappeared, having been replaced by English customs and manners." (*ibid.*, p. 359.)

² *ibid.*, p. 363.

³ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. III, p. 384.

⁴ A. d. B. Vol. CX (1792), pt. 1, p. 214.

⁵ *ibid.*

Another thing which Goede observed in Wales¹ was an almost insurmountable shyness toward everything foreign and, in particular, toward the English, who, on account of their pride, were objects rather of hatred than of envy. In their relations with the Welsh the English were said to show the same attitude and to arouse the same feelings which caused such serious difficulties with their subjects in Ireland and in the Indies. Such observations are by no means restricted to Wales. Frequent are the references to the enmity existing between the English and the Irish. In the *Merkur* for January, 1797, we read:² "It is indescribable with what contempt the Irishman is treated by the South Britisher. To give a single instance, no Irish fisherman can appear on the English coast without exposing himself to ill-treatment of the most violent nature. The filth and beggarliness of the Irish is the subject of a hundred proverbs among the English people, and yet it is the English alone who have so crippled and abased the Irish, a people naturally alert and vigorous in body and mind." On the attitude of the Irish Zimmermann has an interesting comment:³ "The English have constructed in Ireland . . . smooth, broad, straight highways; but the Irish . . ., on account of their imaginary freedom, could not be induced to use these far superior roads. Too obstinate to find good in anything new, they proudly continued to travel their old, crooked, impassable roads."⁴ Nor did the tourist find a perfect understanding between the Scotch and the English. A reviewer on the staff of the *Allgemeine Litera-*

¹ *England*, etc. Vol. V, p. 359, ff.

² p. 47. Letter from London, Nov. 17, 1796.

³ *Vom Nationalstolze*, p. 119.

⁴ Friedrich von Raumer was aroused by his first-hand acquaintance with conditions in Ireland: "Thank heavens I am back in England, but I do not return as I left it. Yesterday evening as my steamer was sailing from Dublin, black clouds were rising on the battlefields of the sky, and when the sun shone through here and there, the promontories on the left and on the right cast their long shadow toward England. This shadow I can not dispel; it has cast itself, in my spirit, over the erstwhile so brilliant image, and—like Lady Macbeth's blood-stains—the harder I try to rid myself of it, the more plainly it stands before my eyes." (*England*. 3 Vols. Leipzig, 1842. Vol. II, p. 407.)

*turzeitung*¹ agreed with a certain French tourist that the English of those times in their prejudice refused to recognize that Scotland had made any progress whatever during the preceding century. The attitude of England toward Scotland is brought out by Schiller:²

Es kann der Britte gegen den Schotten nicht
Gerecht sein, ist ein uraltes Wort.

In the *Merkur* for February, 1797³, this point is again the subject of comment: "Even yet that century-old antipathy between the Scotch and the English—or the North-British and the South-British, as they prefer to be called since the reunion—still glimmers secretly and bursts into bright flames at every opportunity. . . . But no one is more ticklish and more jealous of his honor than the Scotchman, especially when he considers himself injured by the English."

As for the Scotch, their sturdy qualities did not fail to win recognition. As soldiers they had over the English one advantage:⁴ "The Scotch are good soldiers, and they will put up with poor food. When they go hunting, they take nothing along except a little bag of oatmeal from which they make a dough at the most convenient stream of water; and this they eat with good appetite." Toze qualifies his praise for the Scotch in the case of the Highlanders:⁵ "The Scots are tall and well made, courteous and brave, being found in all European armies. They are likewise very temperate in eating and drinking, not departing from these virtues even in foreign countries, where bad examples are set them. But this is chiefly applicable to the Lowlanders, the Highlanders being extremely different from them in their way of living and manners, and, like their country, rough and wild."

An interesting contrast between the Scotch and the German character is presented in connection with the British attitude toward Kant's philosophy. In this attitude—as in everything

¹ 1797. Vol. IV, No. 314, section 15. *Meine Fussreise durch die drei britischen Königreiche*, von einem französischen Offizier. Riga, 1797.

² *Maria Stuart*. Act I, scene 7 (Maria to Burleigh).

³ p. 147. Letter from Edinburgh, Dec. 8, 1796.

⁴ Berckenmeyer: *Neuermehrter Curieuseur Antiquarius*, p. 225.

⁵ *The Present State of Europe*. Vol. II, p. 207.

bearing on the foreign opinion of things German¹—the German public took the deepest interest. It was clearly recognized that the new doctrines found much more fertile soil in Scotland than in England, but even in the former country, according to one German who was on the scene, the reception of Kant was none too enthusiastic:² "Although Scotland has much in common with Northern Germany, even in the mental attitude of the people, still I found one great difference. Scotland must have something objective, something substantial, if it is to go into raptures over a new school or a new dogma; the German, on the other hand, as gudgeons and other voracious fish, snaps at every bait, even if it be only a shadow, provided the thing have the appearance of something adventurous or new."

The intellectual culture of Scotland was assigned a high place, though Archenholz, like Toze, reminds us that³ "the state of civilization in the Scottish mountains has never been—and is not yet—at all comparable with the civilization in the plains of this country; so that there prevails among the Highlanders a roughness bordering on savagery." Very high rating was given to the seats of learning. Büsch saw great similarity between them and the German universities and declared that they stood in even higher esteem than the latter.⁴ On Wendeborn, too, they created a very favorable impression:⁵ "In so far as I know the Scotch universities, they turn out at present, in proportion to the number [of students], far better trained men than those of England, where so many years are required to obtain a rather pedantic and monkish education and which the majority leave, when their hair is beginning to turn gray, without having become extraordinarily learned. The young people enter the Scotch universities far better prepared than the wild boys who go from the Episcopal schools of England to Oxford or Cambridge." In this writer's opinion the clergymen of Scotland also surpassed those of

¹ See above, p. 45 ff.

² *Merkur*, August, 1798, p. 399 (Letter from Edinburgh, June 8, 1798).

³ *Annalen . . . des Jahres 1793*. Vol. XI, p. 341. Hamburg, 1795.

⁴ A. d. B. Vol. LXXIII (1787), pt. 1, p. 228.

⁵ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. IV, p. 342.

England:¹ "The Scotch clergy is very different in character from the English. In liberal knowledge as well as in everything that goes by the name of theology they are, at least at present—especially in the case of the latter—very superior; and for twenty years Scotland has been able to point to more famous authors among its divines than England." Furthermore, as we learn from the same source,² "the preachers in Scotland are more polite, more sociable and more affable in their intercourse than the majority in England. They are hospitable, but their income necessitates their living somewhat frugally." Still more striking, though of an altogether different nature, was the contrast between the Irish and the English clergy. The prebends in Ireland were especially liberal, and members of the leading Irish families filled the more important offices of the church.³ "An Irish bishop continually reminds us of his worldly title (prince and duke), takes part in all the pleasures of life, goes riding early in the morning with the party of which he happens to be a member, drinks in the afternoon at *toast* as the others and plays [for stakes] in the evening with the rest of the company. The Englishman, on the other hand, is serious, reserved, more guarded in his conversation, full of ecclesiastical dignity."

Although the praise for English women usually exhausted the German's stock of superlatives, there was one contributor to the *Merkur* whose belief it was that the women of Scotland were even more generously endowed by nature.⁴ "Scotland, what beauties it has! How Ossian in his time sang of the fair maiden of his love, of the blush of spring in her cheeks! Even today how great is the astonishment of the Englishman—who certainly has beautiful countrywomen—when he goes to Scotland!" Ireland likewise was said to rival England in this respect.⁵ "The Irish girls and women are quite as pretty as

¹ *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 235.

² p. 236.

³ Küttner's *Beiträge . von Eng.* N. A. d. B. Vol. XXIX (1797), pt. 2, p. 411—Küttner's *Briefe über Irland an seinen Freund, den Herausgeber.* Leipzig, 1785. A. L. Z. (1785), Vol. III, No. 154, pp. 8–12.

⁴ March, 1788. p. 332.

⁵ *Göttingisches Historisches Magazin.* Vol. I (1787), pt. 1, p. 158.

the English, but much more vivacious and more skilled in dancing, drawing and conversation."

Ireland—even more than Wales and Scotland—was a country seldom visited by foreigners,¹ and it is extremely doubtful if any continental Europeans were sufficiently well acquainted with the Irish to form an accurate opinion of their character. The general impression was that they were an easy-going, care-free, irresponsible people—"Der Irländer folgt des Glückes Stern"²—and the lower classes, in particular, were considered extremely indolent and perhaps even more uncivilized than was really the case. This nation Berckenmeyer dismisses with the following learned observation:³ "The belief is that the Irish of the present day are either thoroughly good or totally depraved and that the bad ones could not possibly be worse nor the good ones better." A slightly more plausible view-point is reached by Toze:⁴ "Among the Irish there is rather greater difference than among the Scotch. Some have admitted the English laws and customs, and these are civilized and well-behaved people; but the others retain their old customs and ways; which, not being without some mixture of barbarism, are by the English known by the appellation of Wild Irish."

In the first issue of the *Göttingisches Historisches Magazin* we read:⁵ "The common man is indolent in the extreme and quite addicted to drunkenness; nowhere are beggars more numerous or more impudent than in Dublin." And in the *Mercur* for July, 1797,⁶ we read that it is doubtful if there could be a more abandoned populace than that of Ireland, and as for Irish seamen, they are termed "an undisciplined gang of abominable blood-hounds."

From Nemnich we have a view of the economic situation in Ireland as he found it at the end of the century:⁷ "According

¹ A. d. B. Vol. LXV (1786), pt. II, p. 493.

² Schiller: *Wallensteins Lager*, scene 11.

³ *Neuvermehrter Curieuseur Antiquarius*, p. 233.

⁴ *The Present State of Europe*. Vol. II, p. 207.

⁵ Vol. I (1787), pt. 1, p. 157.

⁶ p. 288.

⁷ *Neueste Reise*, etc., p. 607.

to many accounts Ireland possesses in various regions the most valuable mineral products. But the yield from these sources is almost negligible. There is in the first place a lack of necessary fuel and of sufficient capital. Furthermore, it seems that a spirit of enterprise and industry is less prevalent than laziness and frivolity; or perhaps the oppression has as yet allowed nothing of the former kind to come to light. Everything that is undertaken or promoted on anything like an extensive scale is usually backed by Scotchmen or Englishmen who come over with speculations and money; of which the former often miscarry and the latter is entirely lost."

No early improvement of these conditions was anticipated by Wendeborn:¹ "The Irish people are inert, for the most part in abject poverty and so accustomed to oppression from the aristocracy of their own country that it will require at least a half century and ten Swifts to awaken them from their lethargy, to make them see their own interests and take advantage of the rights which nature conceded them and which . . . were ratified by the British Parliament."

¹ *Zustand*, etc. Vol. I, p. 215.

CONCLUSION.

The foregoing pages establish above all one fact; that eighteenth century Germans in general had marked admiration for everything English. With the single exception of Andreas Riem, who is in every respect an anomaly, no German visitor to England seems to have escaped altogether the general anglomania. On the one hand Wendeborn enjoys the distinction of having resisted most successfully the prevalent blindness to British failings, and on the other, Büschel in his anglomania goes to the greatest lengths; according to him, the very name *England* was music to German ears.¹ Baron Riesbeck, who attempted to palm off his *Travels through Germany* as a French work, in spite of his French disguise presents—and represents—the usual German attitude.² “I was not surprised to find the present war much the subject of conversation throughout the whole of my tour. The nation take[s] a natural concern in it, both on account of the troops they let out and from their having been several centuries very war-like themselves. No wonder that under such circumstances more than a hundred newspapers should not be sufficient to satisfy their hunger after news. But what I cannot readily explain, is the amazing partiality of the Germans for the English. You hardly meet with one German out of a hundred who is on our side. The Mecklenburghers especially have a fondness and veneration for our enemies that approaches superstition. I was in many places where they gave little fêtes whenever the god with two trumpets, one before and the other behind, spread reports favorable to the English. It is true indeed that there is something great in the heroic deeds and character of the English which leads the opinion of mankind towards them.”

¹ *Neue Reisen*, etc., p. 8.

² Riesbeck, Johann Caspar: *Travels through Germany*. (Maty's translation.) Vol. III, p. 73.

On certain points the unanimity of opinion is striking. It may be worth while to sum up the most important of these and to call attention again to certain others, which, though sometimes bones of contention, at least come in regularly for the consideration of eighteenth century German writers on England. Without exception the tourists were favorably impressed by England's economic prosperity, by the fertility and natural beauty of the country, by the good roads, the splendid horses and carriages and the comfortable inns—*English comfort* is a frequently recurring phrase which the writers confess their inability to express in German. There were just two objections to the inns, both of them rather serious, it must be admitted; the food was, at first, not to the foreigner's liking, and both landlord and servant made the heaviest demands on his purse. Great was the newcomer's delight, however, at the expediency and efficiency with which everything was done; nothing, in fact, was more remarkable to Lichtenberg than this. Hotel proprietors, shop-keepers, manufacturers, made every effort to please the public, and, though the complaints of profiteering were frequent, it was the source of no little satisfaction that the man whose means were not too limited could have his every demand fulfilled. And London, despite its unattractive appearance, seemed to have peculiar charms for German visitors; at any rate, they never tired of the city's varied life. As for the English themselves, they appeared to enjoy a higher degree of physical well-being than people of other nations; even the paupers were not entirely excluded from the advantages of the general prosperity. The Englishman was usually described as of attractive appearance, well-groomed, a stickler for cleanliness in dress and surroundings and, in the upper classes, at least, a slave of fashion.

In the cultural life, the universal interest in everything that concerned the national welfare was observed by all tourists of discernment. It was found to be easier to engage an Englishman in conversation on politics than on any other subject; in this one field even the man of the most marked mental limitations showed surprising intelligence. To most

German visitors, especially to Albrecht von Haller, the English form of government seemed admirable. The position of the King—free to benefit but not to harm his people—was usually regarded as ideal; and the rulers were praised for their modesty and lack of ostentation. In their visits to Parliament, it must be said, German tourists were frequently more attentive to externalities than to the questions under discussion and the methods of solving the problems of government; only those who resided long in England were able to arrive at a real appreciation of the political life. As to the advantages of the legal system, there was little difference of opinion, although the view was frequently expressed that the death-sentence was too freely imposed, that the most trivial offences were punished with the same severity as the most horrible crimes. In the field of religion, it was English tolerance that made the deepest impression on the foreigners, who also on this point seem to be well agreed.

For the educational system, particularly for the universities, the praise was scant, though Scotch universities were held in somewhat higher esteem than those of England. But despite this, all writers agreed as to the high state of learning in nearly all branches; intellectual culture was said to be more general and to extend much further down the social scale in England than elsewhere. For English literature enthusiasm had become almost unbounded by the last third of the century, but in none of the fine arts were the English admitted to be leaders, unless landscape-gardening be elevated to the dignity of a fine art. For leadership in this field England was given full credit not only in Germany, but all over Europe. Englishmen of means were praised for their liberality in promoting all efforts toward the advancement of the arts. Accordingly, though creative genius was rare, England's contribution to art was considered quite notable.

Unmitigated praise was given to the home and family life. Around the home everything seemed to center; the Englishman was above all else a domestic creature. The relationship between parents and children, though it struck the casual observer as being rather cold and formal, was usually described

as ideal. Children were encouraged at an early age to think for themselves and were allowed to learn the lessons of life, as much as possible, from their own experience. But despite the freedom they enjoyed, they were generally respectful of parental authority. It was frequently observed that parents seldom found it necessary to resort to corporal punishment in rearing their children, even among the lower classes; the same condition did not prevail in Germany, if we may rely on such authorities as the clergymen Moritz and Wendeborn. That the English were hospitable toward their own people is not questioned, but it is certain that the foreigner was none too hospitably received. Germans who were very much at home in England—for instance, Georg Forster and Lichtenberg—attempt to refute this charge, but all writers mention the Englishman's indifference toward foreigners and his inclination to hold in contempt everything of foreign origin. Even to such admirers as Haller, Zimmermann and Goede the English appear too self-centered and provincial to appreciate the merits of other peoples.

In the individual Englishman the most marked traits—those invariably recognized—were the love of freedom and the national pride. The former, an inevitable outcome of democracy, led to a disregard of public opinion, which, in extreme cases, prompted an exaggeration of personal peculiarities and a studied attempt to appear odd and whimsical. At the same time this freedom was the source of the Englishman's self-reliance and independence of thought, for which the foreigner could not fail to admire him. As for the national pride, the visitor would have been blind indeed who failed to observe it. *The proud Briton* was a very common phrase, as it still is, with German writers. They did not, however, consider the Britisher personally vain, but more or less justly proud of his nationality; and this trait they held up to their fellow-countrymen for emulation. It was from the English that Germans learned many of their early lessons in patriotism.

Of the virtues of the British none was more frequently mentioned than their benevolence and generosity, as manifested in part by the numerous charitable institutions and

societies for the relief of the needy. The use which was made of wealth was, in fact, frequently held to redeem the commercialistic spirit and greed for gain with which the English were charged.

As to the frankness and honesty of the Britisher German writers were likewise agreed. The frankness frequently amounted to a repelling brusqueness, but in the long run it won the commendation of all. That the Britisher was fair and honest in all his dealings was universally recognized; nor was he so from policy, but rather on account of his high sense of honor. Archenholz comments on the abhorrence of hypocrisy, and Moritz makes the significant observation that the Englishman considered it the greatest possible insult to be called a liar. That the British were more courageous than other peoples was likewise a general belief; on account of their bravery the Scotch, especially, were said to be excellent soldiers. The fortitude with which the condemned man underwent his sentence and the frequency of suicide were often taken as proof of an unusual fearlessness of death.

Not infrequently was the Englishman branded as merciless and cruel. That such an opinion had long been prevalent on the Continent is established by the fact that various writers, including Pöllnitz and Bielfeld, who visited England in the first half of the century, took pains to refute it. The opinion was based chiefly on two points: the severity with which the death-sentence was executed and the enthusiasm, especially among the lower classes, for brutal sports and amusements. These points were not to be explained away, but the individual, as always, was found to be superior to the mob, and this cruelty, like a number of the other faults commonly attributed to the Britisher, was generally regarded as no inherent part of his nature, but rather as a thing of the surface, which arose from environment and tradition.

One side of the Englishman's nature which is discussed by all visitors is his lack of sociability and his melancholy temperament. There is no doubt that he usually impressed the foreigner as being cold, reserved and over-serious. Especially general was this impression early in the century. Later on,

as the result of better acquaintance, this view underwent an appreciable change. Those Germans who were best acquainted with the Englishman, such as Forster and Küttner, found him as sociable and warm-hearted, once the cold exterior was penetrated, as any other man, and all agreed—notably, Wendeborn and Volkmann—that it was well worth while to cultivate the Englishman's friendship, for, once acquired, it could be relied upon through thick and thin.

Above all else there was one important underlying characteristic of British life that won German admiration—the devotion to nature, the consequent naturalness and the comparative lack of artificiality. Here Wendeborn is the leading German exponent of English culture; his writings teem with admiration for this aspect of the national life, and in this he is by no means alone. On every hand the principle manifests itself. As for English landscape-gardening, Volkmann speaks of it as “the art of converting every spot into a beautiful portrait of nature.”¹ In his restricted praise of the Englishman's educational system Wendeborn describes the chief merit as follows:² “He loves nature, he will not allow art to destroy any of her works. This very trait is the cause of the Englishman's attaining most nearly to the real . . . destiny of man.” In regard to literature Goethe exclaims:³ “Nature, nature! what is more nature than Shakespeare's plays?” And it was through its imitation of nature that English literature made its chief appeal to the German mind. Again we hear from Wendeborn, regarding the women of England:⁴ “They are more natural [than those of other countries] and, accordingly, more pleasing and captivating.” About the social life, too, there was little artificiality, and this was likewise the subject of favorable comment,⁵ though Forster is to be mentioned here as an important exception. In short, in all the relations of life the English appeared natural—another result of their

¹ See above, p. 37.

² See above, p. 49.

³ “Zum Shakespeare's Tag.” *Werke*. Weimar Ed. Vol. XXXVII, p. 130. See above, p. 43.

⁴ See above, p. 134.

⁵ See above, p. 61, ff.

political freedom—and for this the Germans had the strongest admiration.

The extravagant esteem for England was simply the most pronounced symptom of a malady common to eighteenth century Germans, that of an excessive admiration for everything foreign and a pronounced tendency to discredit native achievements—a malady to which the English certainly were not subject. Many Germans were well aware of this failing; Lichtenberg, for instance:¹ "No [other] nation appreciates so fully the merits of foreign nations as the German; and on account of this very flexibility it is held by most in light esteem. Methinks the other nations are right; a nation that strives to please all earns the contempt of all. . . . At present we know the scoundrels of England [die Spitzbuben der Engländer] better than they know our scholars." And Küttner says of his fellow-countryman:² "He gives the preference to a thing merely on account of its being foreign. Many an English work has found applause in Germany that is scarcely known over there, and many a foreign author stands in high favor in Germany who at home has little recognition." It was against this attitude that Klopstock directed his famous protest:³

Nie war gegen das Ausland
Ein anderes Land gerecht, wie du!
Sei nicht allzugerecht. Sie denken nicht edel genug
Zu sehen, wie schön dein Fehler ist!

And again he fulminates against this excessive appreciation of foreign countries:⁴

Verkennt denn euer Vaterland,
Undeutsche Deutsche! steht und gafft
Mit blöder Bewundrung grossem Auge
Das Ausland an!

.
Dem Fremden, den ihr vorzieht, kam's
Nie ein, den Fremden vorzuziehen;

¹ *Urtheile und Bemerkungen. Vermischte Schriften.* Vol. II, pp. 120–21.

² *Beiträge zur Kenntnis . . . von Frankreich*, p. 335.

³ Klopstock, F. G.: "*Mein Vaterland*" (1768). *Sämmtliche Werke.* Stereotyp Ausgabe. 10 Vols. Leipzig, 1844. Vol. IV, p. 215.

⁴ "*Ueberschätzung des Auslandes.*" (1781) *ibid.*, p. 255.

Er hasst die Empfindung dieser Kriebsucht,
Verachtet euch,
Weil ihr ihn vorzieht. . . .

To anyone who has followed the course of this investigation, observing the high esteem in which Germans held everything British and the absolute lack of reciprocation on the part of the English, the sentiments of Klopstock seem altogether natural and his protests fully justified.

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